UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

RICHARD BRATHWAIT

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WORKS

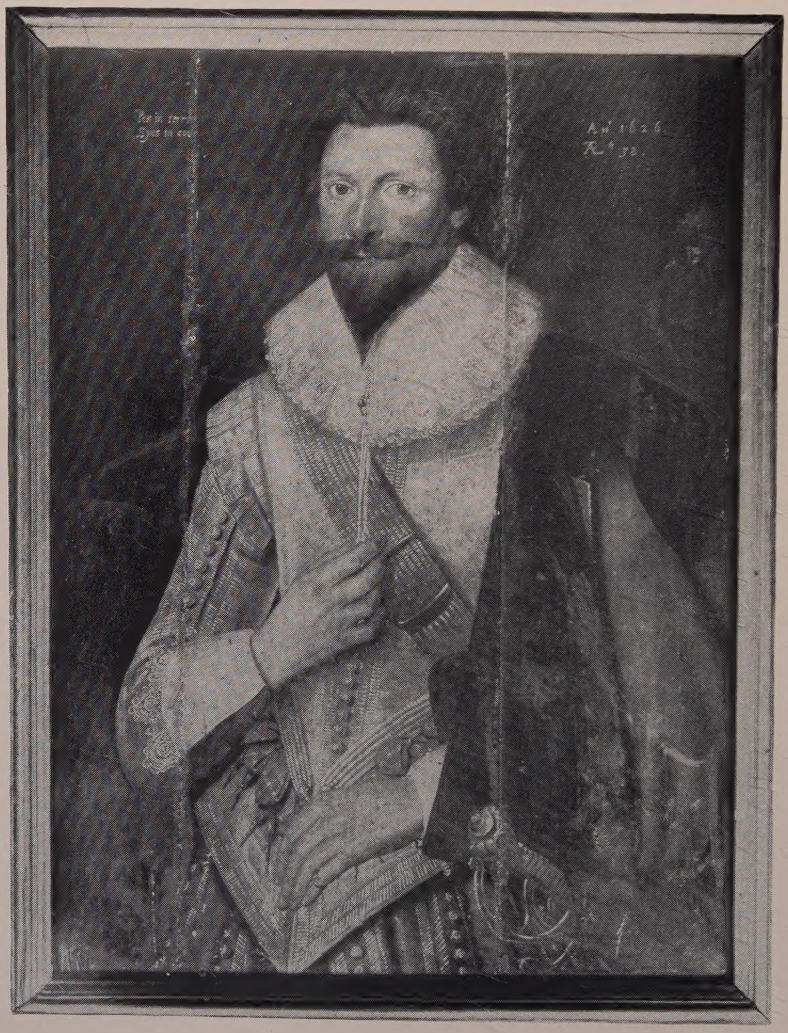
MATTHEW WILSON BLACK

A THESIS

IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
1928



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TO MY FATHER

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PREFACE

The first extended account of the life and works of Richard Brathwait is that of Joseph Haslewood, in his edition of *Barnabees Journall* in 1820. Haslewood's biography and bibliography are well done, and furnish the starting point from which any subsequent investigation must proceed. Later, however, other works came to light which were attributed to Brathwait on the basis of internal evidence. Several of these were examined and included in the list of Brathwait's writings by Thomas Corser in his *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica* in 1861. Fifteen years later, W. C. Hazlitt revised Haslewood's list in the light of Corser's additions, but without much attempt to re-examine the validity of previous attributions. Since Hazlitt's revision, occasional pieces have again been added to the list. The present study makes free use of the researches of these earlier bibliographers; but it undertakes an independent examination of the works concerned, and the establishment of a more reliable canon. As to the biography, subsequent editors have followed Haslewood closely,—and with reason, since his account of Brathwait up to the year 1640 is rather complete. But the paucity of data forced Haslewood to dismiss Brathwait's career from 1640 on, in twenty or thirty lines. The present study has been able to add considerably to our knowledge of the last thirty-three years of this author's life. In addition it attempts for the first time an adequate portrayal of Brathwait in his relation to the society and literature of his time.

It is a pleasure to record the many obligations incurred in the preparation of this study. A number of these are acknowledged at their proper places in the text. My thanks are due to the staff of the British Museum and that of the Bodleian Library for their courteous and efficient help on many occasions. To my colleagues at the University of Pennsylvania I am grateful for their continued interest, and in particular to Professor Cornelius Weygandt and to Dr. J. M. Longaker for references to Brathwait encountered in their reading, which might otherwise have escaped my notice. I am especially indebted to Professor A. C. Baugh, whose friendly advice and thorough technical

knowledge have been equally at my disposal during the entire progress of the work. Most of all, however, I owe to my friend and teacher, Professor F. E. Schelling, my thanks for his supervision of a somewhat difficult enterprise. His time, energy, and inexhaustible knowledge of the seventeenth century field have been so generously given as to render any verbal expression of gratitude inadequate.

M. W. BLACK.

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 1, 1927.

INTRODUCTION

Richard Brathwait is a minor writer of the seventeenth century who has been strangely neglected by literary historians. Voluminous and versatile as he was, and successful in his own day, he has rarely been deemed worthy of more than a mention in even the most inclusive histories of English literature. Only one of his fifty-odd volumes has been reprinted—save by antiquarians—since his death. The majority survive in but a few copies each, and are to be found in the British Museum, in the Bodleian, or on the shelves of those who trade in or collect rare books. Even to readers who have a considerable curiosity as to the by-paths and backwaters of our earlier literature, Brathwait is unknown, or remains no more than a vaguely remembered name.

An obvious reason for this neglect lies in the purely contemporary or personal nature of much of the material with which Brathwait dealt. His work belongs, for the most part, to the history of journalism; and like most journalism, it has enjoyed but a temporary popularity. Moreover, Brathwait is imitative; he had read widely in the literature of his time, and much that he says had been said before, and better, by such men as Dekker, Wither, Overbury, and Heywood; most of the things he attempted had been done before, and better done. Other aspects of his work which may well have discouraged students are, the number and inaccessibility of the books themselves, and the author's penchant for elaborate devices to conceal his authorship. He was, for example, unusually fond of pseudonyms, of which he employed at least a dozen at various times. A certain lack of restraint and taste underlies this mannerism, and other idiosyncrasies of his style; and the same defect mars his humor, which is frequently over-broad.

To lovers of the seventeenth century, however, the works of Brathwait are of no little interest. Incidentally, it is hoped that in the following pages, some of the objections which may be raised to the verdict of silence may be found not wholly unjust. Imitative as he was, he was not altogether lacking in originality. Nor did his journalistic tendencies debar him entirely from certain

literary qualities which have an interest for later times. His *Barnabees Journall*, an account in sprightly verse of the wanderings of a bibulous traveler through English towns and countryside, of which fourteen reprintings were called for by the reading public between 1716 and 1876, has given proof of its power to divert the modern reader in a fashion quite its own. Perhaps half a dozen of his other pieces would bear reprinting for their own sake, and for various reasons.

Brathwait illustrates the truth of the observation that the quality and trend of an age are often more clearly apparent in its minor figures than in its great ones. First, he was a typical country gentleman of his day, one who conscientiously conformed to the traditions, customs, and loyalties of the Cavalier class. Born into a moderately wealthy and prominent Westmorland family, he seems, although a younger son, to have been by the force of his personality its principal representative in his generation. It was, of course, the custom for young men of wealth and position to attend one or the other of the universities; the young Brathwait chose Oxford. He found university life congenial, both for study and for diversion. And the chief academic diversion of the time was conviviality. After several years at Oxford, following a not unusual custom he took up residence at Cambridge, where, says Wood, "he spent some time for the sake of dead and living authors." But practical considerations soon prevailed, and Brathwait was forced by parental pressure to forego his beloved studies, history and poesy, and to take up residence at Gray's Inn, there to equip himself after the manner of his class for the management of property. There was a brief clash of youthful leanings toward study and the writing of poetry, as against these practical plans for the future. In the end the young man proceeded, with a bad enough grace at first, but later more contentedly, to fit himself to take caer of the estates which would some day be his, and also to perform the important duties demanded of the rural gentry by the central government, according to the precedent established during the busy and exacting administration of Elizabeth. After coming into his property, Brathwait became in due course a Justice of the Peace; and he seems to have fulfilled the functions of his

office, judicial, administrative, and military, with considerable success, since he held it until the end of his life. He was also appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of the county, though his rank and means seem not to have warranted his being chosen in his turn for the expensive and responsible position of High Sheriff. He served as a Captain of the Trained Bands, another duty of a landed gentleman. He married an heiress of the district in which he lived, and became the father of a numerous progeny. But his life was darkened by the early death of his wife, and he passed through a period of mourning and domestic difficulty. At the end of six years he married again, his second wife being a gentleman's daughter of the neighboring county of Yorkshire, whose fortune and position were equal to his own; and Brathwait became by this alliance "lord of the manor of Catterick" in Yorkshire, and father of Sir Strafford Brathwait, one of Britain's naval heroes. During the troubled years following the execution of Charles I, during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and for thirteen years after the Restoration, Brathwait maintained a steady and active interest in affairs, and an unswerving loyalty to King and Church. He died at the age of eighty-five, having won, as Wood tells us, the reputation of a charitable Christian, a good neighbor, and a hospitable and debonair gentleman. It will readily be seen that, given literary talents commensurate with his opportunity, Brathwait might well have become the accepted spokesman of a large and important class in the society of his time.

During his long career as a writer, which began when he was twenty-three and continued at intervals until within four years of his death, Brathwait practiced every form of writing popular in his day. No example of his acting dramas has survived, but we have his own assurance that he wrote for the stage, and he shows considerable familiarity with the theatre, at least as a member of the audience. From the majority of his extant works, it is apparent that he belongs in the journalistic tradition established in the preceding generation by Greene, Breton, and Dekker, which leads through contemporaries of his own such as Wither, directly to Defoe. He wrote many satires, some of the formal type in imitation of classical writers, but more of the

irregular type popularized by Dekker and Wither. Later, observing the popularity of the "character" in the work of Overbury and others, he produced some fifty pieces in this kind. His pastorals, lyric and narrative, belong with those of the earlier pastoral writers like Drayton, in general conception and spirit, but look forward to later developments in their use of the couplet and in their tendency toward a realistic treatment of nature. Similarly, his *Two Lancashire Lovers* is an experiment in fiction which combines characteristics of the moralized pastoral romance, such as Sidney's *Arcadia*, and *Euphues*, with a fidelity to contemporary and local character and speech which, though already practiced in the picaresque romance, became common in the novel at a much later date. Also, Brathwait's acquaintance with "dead and living authors" led him naturally into literary criticism, in the course of which he manifests an enthusiasm for Chaucer similar, in spirit at least, to that of Dryden, and preceding his Chaucerian pieces in point of date. Particularly representative of the customs and ideals of his class are Brathwait's popular books of advice on social and moral problems, addressed to English gentlemen and gentlewomen. Throughout his writing he illustrates the continued popularity of classical learning; the pre-occupation with the theme of death; the extremes of spirituality and license co-existing in the seventeenth century mind. In short, Brathwait epitomizes with some completeness the important forms and tendencies in the non-dramatic literature of his period. While he himself adds little to the picture, he helps us to understand it.

I

Birth and Education, 1588–1611

The date and place of the birth of Richard Brathwait have been stated by his biographers with a certain caution, doubtless because no record of the event has been found. According to Haslewood, the poet "is supposed to have been born about 1588 at Burneshead, which is in the parish of Kendall."[1] Unfortunately, the register of Kendal Parish Church contains no entries for the years 1588, 1589, and 1590.[2] Haslewood accepts Brathwait's own statement, quoted below,[3] as evidence concerning the place, but does not discuss the date. Later editors follow Haslewood without comment, except that they frequently add an interrogation point after the date.

That the year, 1588, advanced by Haslewood is correct, however, it is possible to adduce fairly decisive evidence, that of a dated portrait of the poet, believed by experts to be an original, lately found at Dodding Green, four miles from Kendal.[4] It is a very careful piece of work, and in all probability was dated and supplied with a legend by the subject himself, since it bears his favorite personal motto, *Pes in terris, Spes in cae*[*lis.*][5] It is dated

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[1] *Barnabae Itinerarium*, ed. Joseph Haslewood, revised by W. Carew Hazlitt. London, 1876, p. 3. This book is hereafter referred to as Haslewood.

[2] This register, one of the oldest and best kept in England, yields other information, as will appear. It covers the years 1558–1587, and of the poet's life 1591–1599 and 1606–1631. My thanks are due to the Ven. H. P. M. Lafone, M. A., Archdeacon of Westmorland and Vicar of Kendal, for permission to search the register, and to Mr. L. Farrington, the verger, for his efficient help. The latter informed me of a local tradition which ascribes the gap 1587–1591 to plague.

[3] See p. 12.

[4] A reproduction of this portrait appears as the frontispiece of the present study. I am indebted to Father Stevenson of Dodding Green for permission to photograph the original, and to Mr. L. Farrington for his assistance in securing the reproduction. A copy of the portrait, presented to the Corporation of Kendal by Mr. W. Wiper in 1875, hangs in the Town Hall. For a description of the original see pp. 61–62.

[5] The frontispieces of many of Brathwait's volumes are so apt as to indicate that he supervised the designs. For the frontispieces of *The Arcadian Princesse* (1635) and *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* (1641) he supplies detailed explanations. For the motto, see *Natures Embassie*, edition of 1877, p. 168, and *The English Gentleman* (1630), title page and p. 7.

"Ano 1626, Æt. 38." It should be added that other clues to Brathwait's exact age, namely entries in the Oxford and Oriel registers,[6] bear out the date 1588. An engraved portrait occurs in *A Survey of History* (1638), with inscription "Aetatis 48"; but the picture itself is not dated, and was presumably done two years before.

As to his birthplace, Brathwait himself tells us that it was the town of Kendal, in some lines "to . . . the Alderman of Kendall":[7]

> How happie should I in my wishes be,
> If I this vice out of request could see,
> Within that native place where I was borne, etc.

As the family manor, Burneshead Hall, referred to by Haslewood, is only about two miles north of the town and in the parish of Kendal, the matter is quite clear. Thomas Brathwait, father of the poet, is described in the Kendal Parish Register as "of Burneside", in the entry of the christening of Dorothy, Richard's older sister, October 25, 1576. And a series of entries recording the christenings and burials of other children indicate that the family resided continuously at Burneshead Hall at least until April 13, 1583. It is true that after 1585 Thomas Brathwait appears to have acquired a second manor at Warcop,[8] some twenty-two miles to the north; and this may serve to explain the fact that no entry appears in the Kendal register of the christening of Ann, the poet's next oldest sister,[9] whereas the christenings of all the children preceding her are recorded. But

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[6] *Register of the University of Oxford*, ed. A. Clark. Oxford, 1887, Vol. II, part II, p. 279. "1604–5 22 Feb. Oriel Brathwait, Richard; Northumb. gen. f. 16". *Registrum Orielense*, ed. C. L. Shadwell, Oxford, 1893, p. 172. Shadwell adds, probably without other authority than the date of death, that Brathwait died aged 85.

[7] *A Strappado for the Diuell*, ed. J. W. Ebsworth. Boston, Lincolnshire, 1878, p. 175.

[8] *Historical Mss. Commission*, 10th Report, Appendix, Part IV, p. 304. A letter dated at Warcop, August 22, 1585, to Thomas Potter, Alderman of Kendal, complaining about toll-collecting, and signed Thomas Brathwait. Haslewood (p. 2) believes that Thomas Brathwait lived at Warcop before inheriting Burneshead, but proof of this is lacking. The printed pedigree (see p. 13, note 11) gives the date of the purchase of Warcop as 1590–91.

nothing that we know of the family's movements before or after 1588 can be construed as casting a doubt upon the poet's clear statement that Kendal was his "native place."

The name Brathwait[10] is an old one in the lake district, being found as early as 1285. It was widespread through Cumberland and Westmorland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The poet's branch of the family, centered about the three manors of Ambleside, Burneshead, and Warcop, seems at that time to have included the most important of the name in these counties, prosperous landholders with a constant interest in local and public affairs natural to their class. They bore arms, and intermarried with families even more important.[11] Thomas Brathwait, father of Richard, must have been a successful and respected member of the landed gentry, judging by his acquisition of Warcop—presumably a finer estate than Burneshead, since he willed it to his eldest son—as well as by the various public duties he was called on to perform,[12] and the grant to him in 1591 of a coat of arms.[13] His wife's family, the Bindlosses, were at least equally influential and active. In some reminiscences of his boyhood, Brathwait refers to his mother as "sickly";[14] but since she bore her husband seven children and lived to administer his affairs after his death, it seems doubtful whether the son's allusion is to

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[9] Richard was the youngest child. Cf. *A Good Wife* (1618), "Argument", stanza 6. "Thou knowest my sonne, though thou wert *last in birth*", etc.

[10] Derived from Old Norse *breithr*, broad, and *thveit*, piece of land, enclosure. See W. J. Sedgefield, *The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland.* Manchester (University Press), 1915, under Brathwait. At least nineteen different spellings of the name are known. But of our author's four known signatures (see Haslewood, opposite page 16) three are spelled Brathwait, and the same spelling is used in his last twelve signed books. It is the simplest spelling, and the one which Brathwait certainly preferred. A fifth autograph, in Brathwait's copy of *Amadis de Gaul.* Venice, 1559, also uses this spelling. See *American Book-Prices Current*, 1922. According to Sedgefield (p. 23) Branthwaite is from a different root and locality; hence an obscure author of that name is not to be confused with Brathwait.

[11] For the Brathwait pedigree and family history, see J. Nicholson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of Westmorland.* London, 1776,I. 260 ff and 604 ff; also *Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions.* Kendal, 1874—, New Series, VI. 28 ff. (These publications are hereafter referred to as *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions.*)

[12] See especially *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions*, New Series, XXI. 209, and *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1601, p. 405.

[13] Quoted in Nicholson and Burn, *op. cit.*, p. 604.

[14] Quoted on p. 15.

anything more than a temporary condition. Her "good and charitable disposition", which led her to establish a fund to be lent at the discretion of the Alderman and Burgesses of Kendal town, to "such poor widows and other poor householders and young beginners who want stock to trade withal in the mystery or occupation of a Shearman", is warmly praised in *The Kendall Boke of Record*. Sir Richard Hutton, later a Justice in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, and one of the judges in the trial of King Charles concerning Ship-money,[15] stood god-father at the christening of the seventh and last-born child, who took his name.

An interesting description of the second of the Brathwait manors, that at Burneshead, where Richard Brathwait resided after his father's death, appears in a survey of Kendal made by one Machell in 1692:[16]

> . . . in a very pleasant situation on a plain at the foot of an hill which rises with an easy ascent . . . there was a court with a lodge and battlement, through which an ascent was into the Hall. Before the Court was a large pond, on each side of the passage up to the gate, and on either side an island with a little tree planted in it. And in the windows of the gallery and dining room were the Braithwaite arms, with impalings of the noble families to which they were related!

Other observers speak of it as a "strong and spacious fabric,"[17] "an interesting specimen of a border stronghold."[18] The major portions were of the 15th century, with a great tower, fifteen yards by ten, and arched gateway. No longer magnificent, the Hall is now occupied by a farmer. Nor, so far as one can learn, are there any of its owners' descendants in the district who have maintained the family's prestige.

Of the first fifteen years of Brathwait's life no contemporary record has come to hand. We are dependent for a knowledge of the kind of boy he was, and indeed for much of his later biography,

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[15] Brathwait mentions Hutton in several of his works, and *Astraea's Teares* (1641), an elegy on Hutton, is written by "his dearest Godsonne".
[16] Nicholson and Burn, *op. cit.*, I. 260 ff.
[17] Nicholson, Cornelius, *The Annals of Kendal*. London, 1861, p. 112.
[18] *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions*, New Series, VI. 94 ff.

on allusions scattered throughout his works,—allusions which, it may be well to state, can be taken literally only when they do not conflict with what we know of him from more matter-of-fact sources. These references occur in two kinds of writing: in his religious rhapsodizings, such as *The Penitent Pilgrim* (1641) and *Lignum Vitae* (1658), where his mood of extreme self-abasement leads him to exaggerate ordinary human failings; and in narrative fiction, such as *Two Lancashire Lovers* (1640) and many other pieces, in which he has recourse to random facts of his own career when his imagination, at best never luxuriant, fails. This last he also does in the simulated biographies of authors whom he invents to bear the onus of several of his works.

References to his boyhood occur in *A Spirituall Spicerie* (1638) and in *Lignum Vitae* (1658). Those in *A Spirituall Spicerie* are in the section called "Holy Memorials; or Heavenly Memento's", and treat "of his Conception", "of his Birth", and "of his Childhood". The first two contain only pious reflections on original sin, the futility of being born at all, and the daily pain which he gave his "sickly mother". In the third he says, "Now was I weaned from my Nurses milk but not from my Grandhams[19] sin." "Books," he continues, "I loved onely for their cover; Flowers and indented Letters I preferred before the matter." The picture, gloomy as he tries to make it, is that of a thoroughly average boy:

> My childish ambition, indeed, was not high. My delights as they required no great cost; so were they purchased with lesse care. Easie and narrow were my desires; they aspired no higher than to points, pins, or cherry-stones. Trifles had so taken up my imagination, as it could reach no further. Yet in these weake vanities, my desire was to be a conquerour. Now when I found myselfe growne from my coat, my parents found no such thing in my conditions. Those were childish still, and held both their first shape and size. None ever breathed that was longer time a child: or that longed lesse after the state and style of Man. My thoughts were so fitted to that age, as if that age were ever to bee master of my thoughts. I measured everie one by mine owne last, and mused how any one could bee serious. I knew not what they meant by a deare Summer, or an unseasonable Harvest. . . . What a brave

[19] *I. e.*, Adam's.

youth held I myselfe with mine eldern gun, hobbie-horse, and rattle? A poore pride, and yet rich enough for that time. What was onely before mee, seemed deare unto mee. Yesterday was too long for mee to remember: and tomorrow too long for me to expect. I held the present day, the only date of my pleasure.

The section called "Pueriles Nugae", in *Lignum Vitae* (1658), is sufficiently similar to the above passage to seem almost like a Latin paraphrase of it. It tells of schoolboy pranks of a commonplace sort. There is little that is definite, and nothing that would seem to justify his *Puerum me impurum in omnibus intellexi*, and *O Puer purissime, agne immaculate, purga me de maculis mea* [sic] *pueritiae.*

The earliest known record of Richard Brathwait's name is in the register of Oriel College, Oxford, in a list of eleven commoners admitted 1603–4.[20] The editor gives under Brathwaite, Richard, the following: "Admitted Commoner, 1603–4. Matric. Oriel 22 Feb. 1604–5, Northumb.[21] gen. fil. 16. Second son of Thomas Brathwaite, of Warcop, Westmoreland," etc. His name appears on the University Register under the same date.[22]

It is probable that his residence at the University is the most important episode in Brathwait's literary life, both for its development of the convivial strain which runs through his humorous works, and for the influence of classical studies on his serious ones. He dedicates an early volume, *Times Curtaine Drawne* (1621), to Oxford as "his deare Foster-mother", the more precious, he adds, because he was rather young (16) when he went up. (He was not, as a matter of fact, younger than the average Oxford matriculate of that day.) And as late as 1658, on the title page of *Lignum Vitae*, he subscribes himself *Memoratissimae matris, Florentissimae Academiae Oxoniensis, Humillimus Alumnus.* His serious references to classical study and university

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[20] *Registrum Orielense*, ed. C. L. Shadwell. Oxford, 1893.

[21] This confusion of Northumberland for Westmorland is not significant, since it occurs in other government and university documents. It is probably due to the persistence of an older nomenclature. Cf. for example, Bodl. Mss. 332, quoted in B. Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland.* Manchester, 1911, I. 123–124.

[22] Quoted in note 6, above. See also Anthony a Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss. London, 1817, III, col. 986, and *Alumni Oxonienses*, ed. J. Foster. London, 1891, p. 172.

education in general are invariably panegyric. He also has more human recollections of college life, as when he comments sadly "Upon one Owen, a Butler of Oxford":[23]

> The butler's dead, the keyes are left behinde.

"While he continued in that house [*i. e.*, Oriel]," says Anthony a Wood,[24] "which was at least three years, he avoided, as much as he could, the rough paths of logic and philosophy, and traced those smooth ones of poetry and Roman history, in which at length he did excel." And Haslewood, paraphrasing the rather cumbersome phraseology of *A Spirituall Spicerie*, supplements Wood's brief account:

> There he rapidly advanced in his studies; and when time called, examination approved him for a graduate. Having afterwards received for a task *Terrae Filius*, his exercise exhibited such signs of proficiency that he received considerable encouragement to pursue his studies, as also a free tender of ample preferment. In this course he remained contented for several years, deriving from the bounteous bosom of Alma Mater and the freedom of those studies no less private comfort than in the voice of others encouragement, until he resolved to set his rest there if it accorded with his parents' liking.[25]

There is, however, in this passage of autobiography both more and less than meets the casual eye. Brathwait may have been "approved for a graduate"; but neither the Oxford nor the Oriel records contain any mention of the granting to him of a degree.[26] *Terrae Filius* was not an exercise for proficiency in which exhibitions were granted, but an element of ribald burlesque introduced into the disputations preparatory to the taking

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[23] *Remains after Death* (1618), at the end.
[24] *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss. Oxford ,1817, III, col. 986.
[25] Haslewood, p. 4, following *A Spirituall Spicerie* (1638), Memorial IX.
[26] Although Hazlitt allows the degree of A. M. to stand after Brathwait's name on the title-page of his revision of Haslewood's *Barnabees Journall* in 1876, the poet does not appear in any of the Oxford registers as holder of any degree. Nor does Brathwait himself ever assume one. The phrase on the title-page of *Regicidium* (1665), viz., *utriusque Academiae Alumnus*, employs the word *alumnus*, meaning scion or nurseling, rather than a word such as *graduatus* or *baccalareus* which would indicate that he had received a degree.

of degrees.[27] It may be, also, that the insistence in Thomas Brathwait's will that his provisions for his son are conditional upon good behavior, is referable to Richard's pursuit of other things than his studies.[28] On the other hand, if there had been a scandal, Wood, who is not tender of Brathwait's memory, would probably have heard of it and mentioned it. And indeed the poet himself might have mentioned it as he does the wickedness of his life in London, later. All that can be said with certainty is, that Brathwait was at Oxford in 1605, 1606, and 1607. The exact time of his going down, and the circumstances of it remain matters of conjecture.

"Afterwards," Wood continues,[29] "he removed to Cambridge, as it seems, where also he spent some time for the sake of dead and living authors. . . ." The Oxford historian retells this bit of gossip with some hesitancy; but it was probably related to him by someone who knew the facts. We have little that is definite about Brathwait's connection with Cambridge. But we have it on his own authority that he was there, for he describes himself on the titlepage of *Regicidium* (1665) as *utriusque Academiae Alumnus*, and such a claim would not be made idly by a man in his position. He elsewhere refers to Cambridge in a manner which indicates familiarity with the town and with students there,[30] though these references are less frequent than those to Oxford, and are lacking in eulogy of the institution itself. No entry of the matriculation of our Richard Brathwait occurs in the Cambridge register under 1608,[31] the year in which he most probably went up, since he remained at Oriel "at least three years". Hence it seems likely that, as was not uncommon

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[27] See p. 107–8.

[28] Quoted in Haslewood, p. 8, note.

[29] *Op. cit.*, III, col. 986.

[30] *The Law of Drinking* (1617), in "Cornelius Vandunk His Satyre"; *Remains after Death* (1618), epitaphs "Upon one Flower a hopefull young Student", "In the memory of that famous Professour of Physicke, Mr. Butler" (i. e., William Butler of Clare Hall), and "On a Cobler at Cambridge"; Haslewood, "Journall", part 3.

[31] Curiously enough, the *Book of Matriculations and Degrees*, ed. J. and J. A. Venn. Cambridge, 1913, p. 93, gives: "Branthwaite, Rich. Cai[us] f[ellow]-c[ommoner] E[aster term] 1608. No degree". But other facts about Branthwaite prove that he was the son of the then head of Caius, and not the poet.

in the case of men coming to one of the universities after residence at the other, some of the regular formalities were omitted. Indeed, Brathwait's connection with Cambridge may have been entirely unofficial, with men rather than with a college.

At all events, the evidence as to what college Brathwait attended while at Cambridge is unsatisfactory. He himself gives us no direct clue. But he dedicated his paraphrase, *The Psalmes* (1638),[32] to Lancelot Andrewes, master of Pembroke Hall from 1589 until 1605,[33] referring to him as "master and tutor" and indicating that the work was begun under his auspices. To be sure, Brathwait cannot have studied at Pembroke Hall in 1608 under a tutor who withdrew from that college in 1605.[34] But there is a tradition at Pembroke Hall to the effect that Lancelot Andrewes did not withdraw entirely from the control of its affairs until some years later. In fact, owing to a long-continued difficulty between Andrewes and the master who succeeded him, the Pembroke records for several years after 1605 are fragmentary and unreliable.[35] Thus the fact that no record exists of Brathwait's having resided at Pembroke Hall does not prove that he did not reside there. And since Andrewes continued to take an interest in the college after 1605, Brathwait's connection with him could have been the result of attending Pembroke Hall in 1608. This possibility is also consistent with Wood's statement that Brathwait studied at Cambridge "for the sake of dead and living authors", for Andrewes was one of the translators of the King James Bible, and was acquainted with many languages. But here again, the details are largely conjectural.

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[32] But the attribution of the *Psalmes* to Brathwait is less certain than could be wished. See discussion, pp. 129 ff.

[33] *DNB*, article on Andrewes.

[34] Dr. E. H. Minns, Librarian of Pembroke College, in conversation with the present writer, was inclined to disbelieve that Brathwait had been at Pembroke, or at Cambridge. He suggested that the story was an invention of Anthony a Wood's, for the purpose of foisting upon Cambridge a disreputable Oxford character. His position, backed by wit and by an intimate knowledge of the Pembroke records, is unassailable so far as detailed evidence is concerned.

[35] For this information I am indebted to Mr. A. L. Attwater, a member of the faculty of Pembroke College. *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees*, ed. J. and J. A. Venn. Cambridge, 1913, introduction, p. vi, states that the Pembroke records begin 1616.

Brathwait can have remained at Cambridge only about a year. In 1609, pursuant to his father's wish expressed in his will,[36] he entered Gray's Inn, appearing on its register as Brathwaite, Rich. Son of Thomas B. of Burnside Westmorland, Esq. May 11, 1609.[37] That the move was a most unwelcome one to him, all his references to it make clear. "Most unwillingly," says Haslewood, continuing his paraphrase of "His Life", an autobiographical portion of *A Spirituall Spicerie* (1638), "he took leave of the University, and was compelled to address his studies to knowledge as different from his former element as if moulded to some new dialect; for though versed in most tongues, he was in this . . . a mere novitiate. Here he remained long, and lightly profited; studying more for acquaintance than knowledge, and still, like others, running deeply in arrears with time, and gulling the eyes of opinion with the semblance of a law-gown."[38]

We may assume that the expression "lightly profited" is something less than accurate. It seems to have been a part of Brathwait's literary pose to belittle his legal studies. The use of legal phrases, such as *suit of durance*, *nisiprius*, *in forma pauperis*, is one of the commonest of his stylistic mannerisms,—not that the phrases themselves are highly technical, but they occur so frequently as to be worthy of mention. And certainly he gained enough knowledge of law to serve him in a long, and so far as we know, a successful career as Justice of the Peace in Westmorland.[39] According to a modern editor, who had expert legal advice in the matter, *The Law of Drinking* (1617, but see discussion below, p. 101 ff.) shows "a considerable familiarity with the points of law burlesqued";[40] and even though it is largely a translation from a contemporary German *jeu d'esprit*,[41] his choice of such material, and the accuracy of the translation

[36] Haslewood, p. 8, note.

[37] *Register of the Admissions, Gray's Inn, 1521–1889*, ed. J. Foster. London, 1889, p. 121.

[38] Cf. *A Spirituall Spicerie*, Memorial IX.

[39] See p. 39.

[40] *The Law of Drinking*, ed. W. Brian Hooker. New Haven (Conn.), 1903, contains an appendix of legal references by M. H. Tillit. See the Introduction by Hooker, p. 22.

[41] See pp. 101 ff.

itself may well justify the comment. Two of Brathwait's original works, *Mercurius Britanicus* (1641) and *Regicidium* (1665), use the procedure of the trial as their structure, and technicalities are learnedly discussed. Also in his *Comment upon Chaucer* (1665, but probably composed c. 1617) he falls into legal explanations at some length in telling of the Wife of Bath's transfer of her goods. Altogether we may conclude that Brathwait was rather more learned and more able in the law than he felt was suitable to his ambitions as poet.

Of his progress at the Inns of Court, and the length of his stay, no record has been found. It is probable that both before and after his father's death, in 1610,[42] he maintained a desultory connection with legal studies, in part at least because he desired to live in London. His dislike of the law, his freedom from restraint, parental or scholastic, and the temptations of the London theaters, inns, and other less reputable places of amusement, seem to have led him for a time into excesses of which he was later to repent at length in several of his works. Though here again our evidence is drawn from the autobiographical portions of his writings, his references are so frequent and consistent, and his repentance is so convincing that some basis in fact seems highly probable. Still more convincing are his realistic descriptions of London dives and low characters, in *A Strappado for the Diuell* (1615), *The Law of Drinking* (1617), *The Honest Ghost* (1658, written c. 1632), *Whimzies* (1631), etc. We may therefore accept his words in a more literal sense than usual, when he confesses: "Babylonicae metricis ebibi vinum, societati iniquitatis aperui viam, consilio carnis applicavi aurem", and ends with a plea to Christ, "O amantissime Juvenis", to remit the sins of his youth.[43]

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[42] According to a document in *The Kendall Boke of Record*, pp. 233–234, Thomas Brathwait would seem to have died some time before March 26, 1609. But the date may be an error, since his will was probated May 28 1610, and it appears unlikely that a year and three months intervened. Perhaps the Kendal town clerk continued, through force of habit, to write the old date during the first few days of the new year.

[43] *Lignum Vitae* (1658), pp. 17 ff. The section in which the passage occurs was written c. 1628.

At the same time, he welcomed freedom in London for the opportunity thus afforded to make his first attempts at writing of various kinds, to form literary acquaintanceships and to win for himself the beginnings of a reputation, all of which he relates in a picturesque passage of "His Life":

Amidst these disrelishing studies, whereto I was rather enforced than enclined: I bestowed much precious time (better spent than in Tavernes and Brothells) in reviving in mee the long-languishing spirit of Poetrie, with other morall assayes; which so highly delighted mee, as they kept me from affecting that loose kind of libertie, which through fulnesse of meanes, and licentiousnesse of the age, I saw so much followed and eagerly pursued by many. This moved mee sometimes to fit my buskin'd Muse for the Stage; with other occasionall Presentments or Poems; which being freeborne, and not mercenarie, received gracefull acceptance of all such as understood my ranke and qualitie. For so happily had I crept into Opinion (but weake is that happinesse that is grounded on Opinion) by closing so well with the temper and humour of the time, as nothing was either presented by mee (at the instancie of the noblest and most generous wits and spirits of that time) to the Stage; or committed by me to the presse; which past not with good approvement in the estimate of the world. Neither did I use these private solaces of my pen, otherwise than as a play onely to the imagination: rather to allay and season more serious studies, than account them any fixt imployment. Nor did I onely bestow my time on these; for I addressed my selfe to subjects of stronger digestion; being such as required more maturitie of judgement, though lesse pregnancie of invention: relishing more of the lampe than those lighter measures which I had formerly penned; wherein I grew as strong in the opinion and reputation of others as before. This I must confesse, begot in mee a glowing heat and conceit of my selfe: but this I held an easie errour, and the more dispensable, because arising from the infirmitie of nature. Howsoever, I can very well remember (and what other followers can bee to such a remembrancer but penitent teares and incessant feares) that I held it in those dayes an incomparable grace to be styled one of the Wits. Where, if at any time invited to a publique feast, or some other meeting of the Muses, wee hated nothing more than losing time; reserving ever some select houres of that solemnity, to make proofe of our conceits in a present provision of epigrams, anagrams, with other expressive (and many times offensive) fancies.

But Wits so ill employed were like weapons put into mad mens hands. They hurt much, benefitted little: distasting more than they pleased; for they liked onely such mens palats, as were male-contents, and critically affected.

By this time I had got an eye in the world; and a finger in the street. There goes an Author! One of the wits![44]

It is questionable to what extent Brathwait became an intimate of the literary coterie in London. Contemporary allusions to him are rare, and the most appreciative, that of Vicars in 1635[45], is concerned with him as a religious writer. Much of his life was lived remote from London, and many of his most popular productions are unsigned,[46] circumstances unlikely to win him "a finger in the street" as "one of the wits". His closest personal acquaintance among them seems to have been Heywood.[47] But whether or not "His Life" and the other autobiographical passages quoted are to be taken literally in every detail, the writer's shifting point of view in them well illustrates the combination of qualities which make him a microcosm of his period. He represents himself as both a Cavalier and a moralist; a wit and a scholar; a literary Bohemian and a respectable, well-connected young gentleman. These conflicts seem at first to detract from the worth of the picture as evidence about him. But he was all these things, because he tried to follow at various times all the cross-currents of that complicated century. The passages epitomize his life and work, and his time.

We may pause for brief notice of his statement that he was sometimes moved to "fit his buskin'd Muse for the Stage". Throughout his work, many interesting allusions to matters theatrical indicate that Brathwait frequently went to plays. But he insists in several places that he also wrote for the stage. In *Lignum Vitae* (composed c. 1628) he says: "Theatralibus ludis oleum impendi. In quibus gloriam quam lucrum magis quaesivi".[48] But in this passage as in the one above[49] from

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[44] *A Spirituall Spicerie*, Memorial IX.
[45] *The Last Trumpet*, a translation of *Novissima Tuba* (1632), the dedication.
[46] Examples are *Barnabees Journall* and *Mercurius Britanicus*.
[47] Cf. *The Schollers Medley* (1614), p. 31: "My Iudicious friend Maister *Tho: Heywood*, hath taken in hand (by his great industry) to make a Generall (though Summary) description of all the Poets liues". The *Description* seems not to have been published, but Heywood himself mentions the project in his *Gunaikeion* (1624).
[48] P. 14.
[49] Pp. 22–23.

A Spirituall Spicerie (1638), there is an attempt to explain why he did not meet with success, or did not continue writing plays, namely because he considered writing for money as beneath him. This makes us wonder whether if he did write plays they got further than being rejected in manuscript by some player or manager.[50] And there is a captious air about many of his references to the stage and plays, which strengthens the doubt.[51] If plays of Brathwait's were printed, none of them seems to have survived; and if acted, no record of such an event has been found. His only known use of the dramatic form is in the political satires, *Mercurius Britanicus* (1641) and *Regicidium* (1665). And while he tries to give by stage directions the impression that these were acted, or at least actable,[52] their quality is that of prose satire rather than of drama, and it seems most unlikely that they ever saw the stage. In any case, of course, the reference in 1628 can not have been to these, though it may be a later interpolation, since *Lignum Vitae* did not appear until 1658.

Another of Brathwait's most frequent implications about his youth is that he has spent a great deal of time at court, and thus knows and—as he constantly does—satirizes it, from the inside. And he more than once allows us to infer that while at court he was in demand for the making of masques. The following passage from "The life of Mariano Silesio, the approved Author of this Worke", which occurs at the end of *The Arcadian Princesse* (1635),[53] will serve as an illustration of several in

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[50] In spite of the implication of his statement that "nothing was . . . presented by mee . . . to the Stage . . . which past not with good approvement in the estimate of the world."

[51] Cf. *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* (1641), p. 109. "These (plays) which tend to corrupt youth . . should be avoided" is annotated in the margin: "Hence it may appeare how injuriously I was traduced by Mr. W. P. in his Historio-mastix". The allusion in *Histrio-mastix* is at p. 556. It retells in garbled form Brathwait's story of a girl who cried on her death-bed that she saw "the brave Hieronimo", and a note states that the author of the story was "present at her departure". The implication of Brathwait's passage is that though more liberal than Prynne (whom he hated), he is conscious of the evils of the stage.

[52] Cf. the title-page of *Mercurius Britanicus* (1641), "A tragic-comedy at Paris. Acted with great Applause".

[53] Following p. 250. Haslewood, who elsewhere shows a keen sense of Brathwait's fondness for this kind of literary deception, accepts it as a biography of an actual Italian writer.

which he couples the career of a blunt-spoken courtier and maker of masques, with real events of his own life. It well exemplifies the interest—and the dangers—of this kind of evidence:

A Florentine borne;[54] generously descended; and gracefully endowed. Seasoned he was with the elements of all Learning; wherein he became so highly improved, as his rare expressions, relishing of no inferiour spirit, rendred him both admired and loved. Yet in that affluence of friendly observers, Hee wanted not some private detractours;[55] who the more they laboured to darken his lustre, the more they lost their labour; and (what they least expected) gave spreading wings to his fame and honour. Much of his youth hee spent in Court-attendance; where he bestowed more pretious houres in usefull observance, than youthfull dalliance. So as that very place, which commonly becomes an effeminator of others, became an improver and rectifier of his manners. Complie hee could not with corruption; nor affect that, which in the eye of vertue deserved not approbation. Insomuch as, being one day in the Court of Florence, and hearing a Lady of suspected fame much admired for her agility and quicknesse in dancing, replied, my admiration shall cloze in this; O that a soule so heavie, should present so light a body! [Note in margin: "As may likewise appeare by his free reproofe of Madam Alisia Lensona for her incontinent life: though at that time a Mistris to the Dukes especiall favorite."]

An inimitable faculty hee had for elegance of Phrase in prose and an incomparable facillityfor neatnesse of invention and sweetnesse of dimension in verse. Both which with such a free-streaming current naturally flowed, as with a pleasing disdaine they scorned to be forced. Which caused him to bee much imployed in his younger yeares, in the invention and setting forth of Court-maskes and other Princely presentments (impressive obiects of infinite delight to refined Spirits) all which he performed with such height of Art; as no place but held itselfe honoured by his person; nor, no bounty too amply extended to enlarge his pension. Albeit, out of the freedome and largenesse of his mind, He would ever returne this answer to such liberall bestowers: It will detract from the Muses to bee Mercinaries: And, Liberall Arts should have liberall Hearts, and slow receivers.[56] Hee could never endure vulgar praise, nor titular applause, drawne from self-affectation or that ambitious ground of gaining opinion. This he styl'd Opinionate Idolatry, which transformed

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[54] Like "Polymorphus Simianus", for whom see pp. 29 ff.

[55] A common complaint among writers, but Brathwait seems to have had an especial fondness for it. See in his *Essaies upon the Five Sences* (1620), "a pithie one upon Detraction".

[56] The same idea is expressed by Brathwait with respect to his plays. See p. 22.

self-fancy into a desperate Frenzie. He was wont to say of Poggius and Pierus, two reputed Wits in those dayes; that hee could not endure Poggius conceit, because it made too bold with Heaven; nor Pierus, because he tasted to much of Earth.

Soone after his retire from Court, Hee matcht himselfe in a noble family.[57] A Consort so exquisitely accomodated, and richly adorned with all graceful perfections, as her Name, like some precious perfume, still preserves her memory in Florence. But see the mutability of humane happinesse! Shortly made death an exchange with his choice:[58] to whose vertuous memory hee addressed his continuate Anniversaries.[59]

Next follows Silesio's retirement after the wife's death, which incident also has its analogy in Brathwait's life.[60] In the description of Silesio's personality and character, it seems likely that Brathwait has formulated the ideal for which he himself was striving, and as we shall see by the testimony of tradition about him,[61] not altogether unsuccessfully:

. . . hee was of a middle feature; pleasing Countenance; gratefull presence; present discourse; pregnant wit; rich fancy; rare memory; an affable disposition, though naturally a little subject to passion; which he ever so sweetly tempered with discretion, as it never overmastered reason. To such an excellent Soveraignty in the Command of his affections had hee aspired, as his inner-house to no disquiets stood engaged.

The remainder of "The life of Mariano Silesio", including curiously enough the "ripe age" at which he died, and his attitude toward death, contains nothing which is incompatible with what we know of Brathwait's own life:

Sundry workes, during the time of his retire: Hee composed; wherein were expressed such height of wit and clearenesse of judgement, as they received the character of divers tongues.[62] Amongst which, Hee took especiall care,

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[57] The first Mistress Brathwait's family, the Lawsons, were not of noble blood, but they seem not to have been flattered by the match. See p. 36.

[58] See p. 42.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Anniversaries upon his Panarete* (1634), *passim.* He there represents himself as intending to live the life of a recluse.

[61] See p. 60–61.

[62] The allusion here is perhaps to the translation of *Novissima Tuba*, in the same year as "The Life of Mariano Silesio".

that this worke should bee fairly transcribed, and sent to Florence; where it was entertained with such esteeme, as it received a double honour, both for its owne worth, and memory of the Author.

His last dying words, or invitation of Death (as is reported) were these: "I have got myselfe, as much out of the world as I could, though not so much as I would; Come then my friendly Messenger, and take me out of this Creeke, where I have hitherto retired, that after so long bondage, I may be freed."

Hee lived to a ripe age; being both in yeares and virtues numerous.

The difficulty of separating probability from ambitious fancy in such passages of elaborately disguised autobiography is readily apparent. Considering Brathwait's rank, and the scarcity of allusions to him in his own day, it seems improbable that he cut a notable figure at court. And when we remember that no less a person than Ben Jonson was employed "in the invention and setting forth of Court-maskes and other Princely presentments" during the years (1610–1635) to which Brathwait may here be supposed to refer, it seems still more improbable that Brathwait's slight talents can have won him even a passing fame. The documents we have concerning the Court Revels during this period contain no mention of Brathwait. Yet after all, our knowledge of the court entertainments is far from complete; and when he insists on a point as frequently as he does on this, even giving the details of one masque at which he was present,[63] we are compelled to give his hints attention, if hardly credence.

To resume that portion of our narrative which has a solider basis of known fact, we know that beginning with May, 1609, Brathwait lived for a considerable time at the Inns of Court and, by his own account, wrote, cultivated literary acquaintances, plunged somewhat into other city pleasures, and studied law with an ill grace, but some result. Early in 1610 his father Thomas Brathwait died.[64] What provision was made for Richard, and how soon he and his elder brother Thomas were allowed to enter upon their inheritances at Burneshead and Warcop respect-

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[63] *Times Curtaine Drawne* (1621), sig. H 2, "An Embleme upon the Royall Masque", etc. He does not state that the masque was his own.

[64] See note 42, above.

ively, is not known. From the terms of the father's will,[65] we may suppose that Richard remained at Gray's Inn on an allowance. Some difficulty over the distribution of the property is reflected in the "Dedication" of *The Golden Fleece* (1611), his first published work:

> To the Right Worshipfull M. Robert Bindlosse, Esquire, his approued kind unkle. . . . .
>
> At the first I resolved to dedicate these fruits of my labours unto him, from whom I received the grouth and quiet encrease of my studies: But it pleased God to alter my purpose, by preventing him by death, who was the nourisher of my slender endevors, and the protectour of mine orphane labours, which had no sooner hapned, then in a distast of my studies, wanting him whose relish sweetened my unseasoned poemes, I was fully resolved to have wrapped this tract up in oblivion, and to have deprived it of publike view. But the troubled course of our estates and the favorable regard you had of our attonement, . . enforced me to consecrate this pamphlet . . to your best affectioned selfe; to shew a willingnesse in me to gratifie that sollicitous and carefull regard you ever had, since the time of our desolation, even his death, whose life was a mirrour in his time, and whose well concording death ensued, as a reward of eternitie, for his well spent daies: for his fruits shall follow.

The passage is interesting for its suggestion that the father and family of the poet may have encouraged him to write, though to be sure the language may be merely figurative and eulogistic. But what exactly "the troubled course of our estates" may have been, and Robert Bindlosse's part in the "atonement", there is little other indication. Another of his fictitious authors, whose life resembles Brathwait's at many points, becomes "intangled in Suites of Law about his Patrimonie",[66] and it is possible that Richard and Thomas Brathwait at least contemplated taking their difficulty to the courts. There is no evidence that they did so. But there is a hint of their disagreement in Brathwait's dedication of certain "Sonnets" to "the worshipfull His Approved brother Thomas Brathwaite Esquire", which concludes the episode:

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[65] Haslewood, p. 8, note.

[66] "Polymorphus Simianus", pseudo-author of "An Age for Apes" in *The Honest Ghost* (1658). See below, p. 30.

Janus hath now shut up his Temple, our civil warres be now ended, union in the sweete harmony of minde and coniunction, hath prevented the course of ensuing faction, we may now sit downe under our Beech tree . . .[67]

No account of Brathwait's early life is complete without some notice of another piece of disguised autobiography, similar to "The Life of Mariano Silesio", but even less reliable. This is called "The Life of Polymorphus Simianus" (pseudo-author of the poem preceding it, entitled "His Vision" or "An Age for Apes") and is found in *The Honest Ghost* (1658). A note at the end of "His Vision" informs us that the poem was written in 1625, which may or may not apply also to the "Life".

Haslewood rightly calls the "Life" a "doubtful compilation".[68] But some statements in it we know to be true of Brathwait; and so far as we can interpret the cloudy allusions which accompany these, they seem to reflect experiences which would explain references in his works, especially his frequent references to his dealings with "the merchants". The following is an attempt to condense the "Life" to such points as may conceivably have a bearing upon his biography:

Polymorphus Simianus a Florentine born, a younger brother, but well descended; and during his minority, in all generous & free-born Studies trained. He was naturally affected to Poesie; from the delight whereof his Father, being of eminent esteeme in Florence, laboured to waine him; by diverting his course that way, and importuning him to the study of the Law. Whereto having for some yeares applyed his minde, he grew in short time indifferently furnished . . . Being now growne a pretty good proficient in a profession contrary to his element; you shall heare upon what occasion he became degraded, from the benefit of his practise excluded, and by a judicial, though incompatible censure, silenced. Pleading one day with great vehemencie for his friend Farnesio. . . . He perceived the Judge of the Court to be more indulgent to the Advers part; . . he thus accosted the Judge . . . The Judge perceiving whereto his meaning tended, covertly implying corruption . . . commanded him forthwith to depart the Court . . . About this time when Simianus was silenced, his father died . . . it fortuned, even then when he had resolved [to] . . . expose himselfe to some forraine adventures; to fall in

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[67] *The Golden Fleece* (1611), the dedication to the "Sonnets".
[68] Haslewood, p. 187.

acquaintance with a Zealous brother of Amsterdam; . . . Away he must goe with him . . unto Amsterdam; . . . At Amsterdam . . in principall esteeme grew he with a devout fraternity, by meanes of this Zealous merchant . . . Long had he not sojourn'd; after his expulsion from the Fraternal tribe, but hee was entertained by a Provincial Deane . . to looke to his Tenths and gather his Rints . . . but small profit redounded to his Master . . This the avaricious Prelat soon perceived; so as this conscionable Gatherer . . was discarded . . . a Venetian-Merchant (one of excellent parts) received him . . . With this brave Merchant, Simianus long remained; . . . some unworthy instruments traduced and maligned him . . . hee made for Florence . . .

From this farrago we may surmise (1) that Brathwait early conceived a notion of judges as corrupt, but improbably in the course of active law-practice; which surmise is borne out by his numerous references to judges; (2) that he traveled, which is altogether likely; (3) that he took employment in some kind of business, presumably during the years before he came into his estate, when we know practically nothing of his movements; to which his many satires on business men[69] lend color.

The "Life" continues:

His well-composed temper and peaceable disposition he likewise expressed; when as being sometimes intangled in Suites of Law about his Patrimonie[70] . . . Privacy likewise He highly affected . . . So as, on a time when at Milan a Diet was intended . . . and he for a Burgesse in the Lower House . . . elected; . . . yet he rejected this honour, & privatly retired to his Country mannour . . . Where this Author now remaines, it is diversly conjectured; some reporting him to be now at Florence, where he is made Remembrancer of the City; others report, that coasting through the Province of Cecuba, upon some disgrace offer'd by him to a Lyrick, who contended with him for the master-prize in Poetrie, he was by the inhabitants of that place surprized, and in a Vinepresse squeezed to death: for the truth whereof I will not stand much . . .

This last comment strikes one as singularly happy, and should probably be applied to the "Life" as a whole.

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[69] Cf. *A Strappado for the Diuell* (1615), "The Epistle Dedicatorie", inscribed "To all Usurers, Broakers, and Promoters", etc. Also *Remains after Death* (1618), the epitaph on "A Broaker", and *The Honest Ghost* (1658), *passim*.

[70] See p. 28.

II

Early Work, 1611–1622

Although writing was an avocation with Brathwait at almost every period of his long and busy life, the bulk of his literary output falls within two periods of about ten years each, from 1611 to 1622, and from 1630 to 1641. The first of these two periods began with his "first fruits", the slender volume of poems called *The Golden Fleece* (1611) and ended with the appearance of *Times Curtaine Drawne* in 1621. During these ten years Brathwait published in all fourteen volumes, and probably composed several others. With these we are at present concerned only so far as they throw light upon his biography. They tell, unfortunately, much less than might be expected; but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the publication of the books themselves, and the few but important matters which they record, such as, for example, his marriage, are the principal events of their author's career during the period.

The Golden Fleece (1611) contains, besides the allusions to family troubles over the estates, mentioned above,[1] a series of "Sonnets" addressed to a woman. Their tone is bitter, and the references to the lady's character are opprobrious. Of course, by 1611, love-poetry tinged with cynicism had become quite fashionable, so that it would be possible to see in Brathwait's "Sonnets" simply a youthful literary exercise. But there is a circumstantial quality which suggests either that Brathwait at twenty-two or -three had a somewhat more vivid imagination than he later displays, or else that the poems were the fruit of an early love affair. It would be useless to press the point, however, since we hear nothing more about it.

During 1612 and 1613 we do not *know* anything about our author's whereabouts or employments. He may have gone "adventuring among the merchants";[2] he may have traveled;[2]

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[1] P. 28.
[2] See p. 30.

he may—and this seems the likeliest supposition, judging from the nature of his next published work—have laid up for himself repentance by leading a wild life in London. At any rate, in 1614 appeared *The Prodigals Teares: or His fare-well to Vanity*, an extended spiritual rhapsody, in which he repentantly describes himself as a man "of uncircumcised heart", and prays that he who has fallen may rise again. All of it is general, and it may of course represent only a passing mood. But the reader finds it a quite convincing mood. In one of the many passages of moral exhortation, the prodigal exhibits considerable interest in "the properties of a good captaine",[3] which is interesting in connection with Anthony a Wood's statement[4] that Brathwait later became a captain in the train-bands.[5]

Characteristically, however, Brathwait published, in this same year of his repentance, a book of amorous verse, *The Poets Willow*. It is in the pastoral mode, but there are several autobiographical touches. For example, he shows an interest in London affairs which supports the idea that he visited London frequently, or perhaps lived there intermittently. And Berillus, the hero, has something of Brathwait about him. The description of him as "no lesse musicall, then pastorall: For his learning famous, for his measure in all compositions curious, for his censure in moderne presentments, no lesse affected, then by his fellow inhabitants admired . . ." might well be what a young country gentleman home from London would like to believe his neighbors think of him. Moreover Berillus falls in love with Eliza, "a Nimph of the adioyning mountain" and "onely daughter to her father", of honorable parentage, sequestered habit and internal beauty, all of which describes with some accuracy the future Mistress Brathwait.[6] Haslewood[7] thinks that the shepherds Tmolus, Thyrsus, Pelorus, Tymallus, and Berillus represent Brathwait's brothers and himself, because Pelorus and Tymallus

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[3] P. 108.
[4] *Op. cit.*, III, col. 986.
[5] Cf. also *The Captive-Captain* (1665), *passim*, and the passage in *Astraea's Teares*, discussed p. 45.
[6] She is described in the *Anniversaries* of 1634 and 1635. See also p. 35.
[7] Haslewood, p. 35.

are dead, and Brathwait himself had lost two brothers.[8] It is quite probable, though in that case there are one too many brothers. However, the point is not significant, since the shepherds do nothing out of the pastoral convention. In the amatory poems which follow the title piece, Eliza, or Frances Lawson, again appears, as also does a certain Dorinda. Both are accused of jilting him in favor of richer suitors. As the jilt who marries for money is a favorite theme of Brathwait's,[9] we may surmise that it reflects some incident or incidents of his courting days.

Not content with appearing before the literary world in a single year as repentant prodigal and love-sick swain, Brathwait gave expression also to the scholarly side of his temperament, in *The Schollers Medley* (1614), reprinted in 1638 and 1651 as *A Survey of History: or, A Nursery for Gentry*. The book is a medley indeed, but it contains very little contemporary reference of any kind. There is, however, a passage in commendation of copper-mining[10] in the north of England, which seems to be the result of some travel in that section, as well as of an intelligent interest in the practical affairs of life. Somewhat more to our present point are the allusions to "my Iudicious friend Maister Tho: Heywood"[11] and to "abuses whipt and stript",[12] the title of a satire by Wither, which help us to identify two of his London literary acquaintances and heroes.

A Strappado for the Diuell (1615) is Brathwait's first attempt to deal satirically with his times. It reflects his knowledge of London itself, and of men and affairs. It was also his first popular success, gaining for him, if we may believe a reference to it as late as 1640,[13] notice comparable to that accorded Dekker or

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[8] Both died in infancy, however. Their baptisms and deaths are entered in the Kendal Parish Register.

[9] See p. 35.

[10] P. 60.

[11] P. 31.

[12] P. 87.

[13] Verses signed JOAN. PATRIDOPEILUS, prefaced to Humphry Mill, *A Nights Search*, London, 1640.

> If Decker deckt with discipline and wit,
> Gained praises by the Bell-man that he writ;
> Or laud on Brathwait waiting did abound;
> When a Strappado for the devill he found, etc.

his *Belman of London.* This lively book contains a good deal that is of biographical interest, especially those portions which indicate that he suffered the familiar ordeal of imprisonment for debt. In some verses entitled "His Catch",[14] the occasion of which, he tells us, "proceeded from the restraint of the Author", he addresses to his god-father, Richard Hutton, Sergeant-at-Law, a humorous plea for protection from brass-buttoned Sergeants:

> . . . these iniurious burres, these tenterhookes,
> That euen afright me with their gastly looks,
> These engines of despaire, agents of euill,
> Factors for Mammon, Viceroyes for the diuell
> These that lay hold like bird lime: these be they,
> That must be soundly brib'd, or we must pay.

He insists that the writ against him is unjust and that he cannot pay:

> Little I am possest of well you know,
> And of that little, little doe I owe
> To any man: yet for all this am I,
> Made a fit obiect for a Sergeants eie.
> I could not beg if that my cause were bad,
> But to disburse for that I neuer had.
> Nor anie for me, 'lasse it seemes to me,
> The cause might pleade it selfe without a fee.

Later on another "epigram" would lead us to believe that he was actually in hiding:

> If any Sergeant should my lines forestale,
> Before they see my Patron enter bayle .
> . . . . . say,—
> How Night by Night in seuerall roomes I lye,
> And that my lines haue farre more Aer then I.

No further allusion to his actual "restraint" occurs in *A Strappado for the Diuell*, but there are several in later works, and his

[14] Ebsworth's edition, p. 54.

general fondness for the subject of prisons makes it seem possible that we have here the first of two occasions when the poet became involved in financial difficulties and perhaps languished for a time in the Fleet.

We have, besides, a satire on the "Poettasters of Britannie"[15] and one on a patron who was not at home to him,[16] which reflect the progress of his literary career; and two more epigrams on girls who jilted him to marry for money.[17] Meantime he seems to have assumed in Westmorland his position as landholder and responsible citizen, for in the verses "To . . . the Alderman of Kendall and his brethren",[18] "To all true-bred Northerne Sparks, of the generous society of the Cottoneers",[19] and "To the Worshipfull Recorder of Kendall",[20] he displays interest in and familiarity with local topography, industries, and social conditions. And in "His Frankes Anatomie"[21] he praises with a warmth only partially concealed by the conventions of such poetry, the beauties of a certain Frances. He insists that this name is her real one, and, although another and less reputable "Franke" is spoken of in his *Barnabees Journall* (1638)—in spite, too, of the fact that he accuses her of forsaking him to marry a richer suitor—we may safely conclude that this is the first of his many love-poems to and about the lady who two years later became his wife.

Brathwait married on May 4, 1617,[22] at Hurworth near Nesham and Darlington in the bishopric of Durham, Frances, daughter of James Lawson of Nesham,[23] the "Eliza" of *The Poets Willow*. He tells us that her family was an ancient and honorable one:

> Neere Darlington was my Deare Darling borne,[24]
> Of noble house, which yet beares Honors forme, etc.

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[15] Pp. 20–40.
[16] Pp. 62–63.
[17] "Upon his Mistris Nuptiall", at p. 86; and "Fansie is a Phrensie", pp. 99–105.
[18] Pp. 173–188.
[19] Pp. 189–210.
[20] P. 210.
[21] Pp. 78–85.
[22] The article on Brathwait in the *Dictionary of National Biography* gives the date as May 2, 1617, but this is corrected in the errata.
[23] Haslewood, pp. 10–11. Haslewood had seen the marriage-license.

Apparently the course of true love did not run smooth, even on the eve of the ceremony, if we may judge by a curious letter, printed in full by Haslewood,[25] which is signed with the name of Frances Lawson's father, James Lawson, but can hardly have been written by him. Haslewood makes the only possible comment when he says, "However, if [the letter was] fictitious in substance, and an ingenious love-fraud by Brathwait to effect a clandestine marriage, the purpose succeeded." The ensuing marriage seems to have been as happy as it was certainly fruitful.

To Brathwait and his wife were born, during the next fourteen years, nine children, entries for all of whom appear in the Kendal Parish Register as follows: 5 March 1617[26] Thomas the son of Mr Richard Brathwaite of Burneside; 25 Sept 1620 Dorothie daug: of Mr Richard Brathwaite of Staveley; 6 May 1622 Robert the son of Mr Brathwaite of Staveley; 25 Sept 1623 Alice daug: of Mr Richard Brathwaite of Nether Staveley; 3 Jan 1624[27] James son of Mr Brathwaite of Burneside, the latter form of entry being used also for Richard, December 11, 1625, Agnes, February 13, 1626–7, Frances, October 11, 1629, and John, February 24, 1630–1.

During the next five years, 1617 to 1622, we know of Brathwait only through occasional references in the books, eight in all, which he published in rapid succession. In three of these, and in several later works, there is again internal evidence that he was imprisoned for debt, more or less unjustly, if we are to believe him, and that he was released by the good offices of that same Richard Hutton to whom he had previously appealed. In the dedication of "The Smoaking Age"[28] he writes:

> For th' Court, where now my suit depending is,
> Hath forced me write in forma pauperis.

nd in *A New Spring* (1619) appears an elegy, "Bound yet free; Speaking of the benefit of imprisonment", which like *The*

[24] *Anniversaries upon his Panarete* (1634), at sig. A7.
[25] Haslewood, p. 10, note.
[26] *I. e.*, 1617–18.
[27] *I. e.*, 1624–25.
[28] Part two of *The Law of Drinking* (1617).

Honest Ghost (1658, but written in part about this time), *The Five Senses* (1620), *Whimzies* (1631), *The Captive-Captain* (1665), and other of his pieces, shows feeling about, and familiarity with the lot of a prisoner.[29] Moreover in *Astraea's Teares* (1641), an elegy on the death of Hutton, he writes:[30]

> But lo! the place where thou interred art,
> Presents new-pensive Objects to my hart:
> For near this Holy ground of thine possest,
> A grimmer Hagge then Death did me arrest
> Till thy just-judging Eye did rightly scan
> My cause, and free'd me from th' Leviathan:
> For ne're was man surprised with more deceite,
> Nor with more Grace retreved from a Grate.

"The place where thou interred art" is explained in a marginal note as "Sainct Dunstans". In "His farewell to Poetry" Brathwait, speaking of the danger of hoarding newly-acquired wealth, says

> The Dev'll shall have it first, hows'ere I seeme,
> (The Divell at St. Dunstans I doe meane).[31]

Presumably the implication is that he would rather pay his creditors with it. St. Dunstan's-in-the-West stands opposite the Temple, and near the Courts of Justice; and in Farringdon street, a little to the eastward of it, stood the Fleet. It seems probable that Brathwait suffered a brief imprisonment there c. 1618.

The Law of Drinking (1617), *The Good Wife* (1618), *Remains after Death* (1618), *A New Spring* (1619), *The Five Senses* (1620), *Shepheards Tales* (1621), *Natures Embassie* (1621), and *Times Curtaine Drawne* (1621) contain little else that is of biographical interest. The author apologizes for the state of a text, owing

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[29] There is a long line of such "prison-pamphlets", to which undoubtedly the imagery of these books may in part be referred. But the recurrent connection of Hutton with the idea of escaping imprisonment is significant.

[30] Sig. D7v.

[31] *The Honest Ghost*, p. 111.

to "a late rec'd hurt . . . which detained him from comming to the Presse";[32] he wishes "his five equally affectionate Sisters", all by this time married, "all virtuous content";[33] he writes epitaphs on a number of his friends and relatives in the district, of whom Allan Nicholson[34] and Thomas Brathwaite of Ambleside[35] are the only names of interest to us. All of the *Shepheards Tales* (1621) contain fugitive references to facts, already cited, in his own career. In *Natures Embassie* there is a promise of new work after "these two months trauell."[36] And on the satiric note of *Times Curtaine Drawne*, Brathwait's first period of literary production ends.

During the period 1611–1622, then, Brathwait began his literary career, in London, as a satirist of contemporary life, a pastoral poet, a popularizer of history, and occasionally—as in *The Law of Drinking*—as a ribald wit. Later, however, he married, begot children, and gradually withdrew his residence and his interests to his home in Westmorland. Here at Burneshead he established himself among his friends and relatives—Bellinghams, Bensons, Bindlosses, Caruses, Dalstons, Musgraves, Warcops—as a respectable landed gentleman.[37] His next long work, *The English Gentleman* (1630), is the natural expression of his now settled and conservative mode of life.

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[32] *The Good Wife* (1618), Bodleian copy, "To the Reader", at L3v.

[33] *A Happy Husband . . . by Patrick Hannay, Gent. To which is adjoined the Good Wife* (1618), at B8v.

[34] An epitaph upon Nicholson appears in *Remains after Death* (1618). He is also mentioned in *The Fatall Nuptiall* (1636). He died in 1616. See *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions*, XI. 35–37.

[35] Evidently not, as Haslewood and others have it, his father, who was not "of Ambleside", but his cousin. See Nicholson and Burn, *op. cit.*, Brathwait genealogy, pp. 604 ff.

[36] At p. 57. But the passage is obscure. "Trauell" may mean "travail".

[37] The poet's family appears, with the others named, in the list of those bearing arms in *The Heraldic Visitation of Westmorland, made in the year1615*, for which see *An Index to Printed Pedigrees Contained in County and Local Histories*, by Charles Bridger. London, 1867.

III

A Country Gentleman, 1622–1641

From 1622 until 1627, when he began the composition of *The English Gentleman* (1630), county affairs, the management of his estates, and the cares of his rapidly increasing family left Brathwait little time for writing. "Living [at Burneshead] many years," says Anthony a Wood,[1] "he became Captain of a foot-company in the trained-Bands, a deputy-lieutenant in the county of Westmorland, a justice of peace and a noted wit and poet." His duties as Justice of the Peace probably began when he took up his residence at Burneshead,[2] and his many references to the office indicate that he administered it conscientiously and honestly. "It pleased the prince," he says in one place,[3] "to put mee in commission for administration of Justice: a vertue and a choyce one too, yet such an one, as by the abuse of man, not of time, may be compared to the Celedony stone, which retaineth her vertue no longer than it is rubbed with gold. For my carriage therein, I appeale to such as knew mee: many imperfections and failings (heaven knowes) accompanyed mee, which by an humble acknowledgement of mine owne wants and an earnest desire of supply by God's grace, became so rectified in mee; as what before seemed crooked, was by that golden rule of his divine will in mee streightned." In this passage as also in his seasoned essay on the duties of a Justice, in *The English Gentleman*,[4] he upholds especially the ideal of freedom from bribery, and of absolute impartiality in dealing with the poor. The dates of Brathwait's term as Deputy Lieutenant are uncertain, and he nowhere comments upon his activities as captain of the train-bands.[5] But we may safely assume

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[1] *Op. cit.*, III, col. 986.

[2] For this and other duties regularly performed by landed gentlemen at that time, see E. P. Cheyney, *History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*. New York, 1914–1926, II. 313–378.

[3] *A Spirituall Spicerie* (1638), Memorial IX.

[4] *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* (1641), pp. 83–86.

[5] Save perhaps by implication. See p. 32.

that he discharged with equal conscientiousness these and other duties entailed by his position in the county.

His literary output, meanwhile, was necessarily curtailed. He wrote some commendatory verses for Vincent's *A Discoverie of Errours* (1622),[6] and a volume called *Britain's Bath* (1625), now lost,[7] which included an elegy on the death of the Earl of Southampton. Another unknown piece, *The Hunts-mans Raunge*, referred to in a marginal note in *The English Gentleman* (1630),[8] may have been published during this period. Portions of *The Honest Ghost* (1658) can be dated c. 1625[9]. *The Gentleman Usher*, entered in the Stationers' Register as licensed June 30, 1628,[10] seems not to have been separately published, but appeared as one section of *Ar't asleepe Husband?* (1640). In general, the extant works of Brathwait between 1622 and 1630 are either brief, occasional pieces or fragments of satire; and it is likely that the two now lost belonged in a similar category.[11]

But Brathwait's literary aspirations were in abeyance, not dead. By 1627, according to Haslewood's ingenious interpretation of some cryptic verses therein,[12] he was at work on his substantial courtesy book, *The English Gentleman*. It was completed by 1630, and while on some military mission in London

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[6] *Quos amor iunxit sociosque fecit*, etc. Latin sapphics, signed Rich: Brathwait.

[7] No entry of *Britain's Bath* appears in the *Stationers' Register;* but Brathwait refers to it in a marginal note on the dedication (to "Elizabeth, Dowager, Countesse of Southamton") of *A Survey of History* (1638), as "long since extant."

[8] P. 198.

[9] "A Voice from the Vault", the first poem, begins, "Thrice to the sin-sick world my Muse hath come", which argues an even earlier date. "The Copy of a Letter" is dated 1624. A note at the end of "An Age for Apes" states, "Ista poemata . . primum Conscripta fuere; An. Dom. 1625".

[10] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber. IV. 199.

[11] He contributed some laudatory verses to *The Life of Bernard Gilpin*, by Bishop Carleton, translated into English 1629. See bibliography. The single example of Brathwait's correspondence unearthed by Haslewood (p. 14) gives another glimpse of him at this time, as a busy man of affairs.

[12] Haslewood, p. 91, note. The verses are found in *The English Gentleman* (1630), unnumbered page following p. 456.

> With a Climacterick yeere this worke began,
> Which is exprest when Sev'ns and Nines doe meet, etc.

From this Haslewood deduces that the year meant is 1627, the first two digits of which add to 7, the second pair to 9. Why it was "a Climacterick yeere" is a secret even darker, unless Brathwait alludes jokingly to the necromancy of numbers.

he found time to see it partly through the press in that year. But—as he remarks, cheerfully enough, in apologizing for the state of the text—he was obliged to hurry back to Westmorland before his proofreading was finished:

> . . . you are to impute the Error to the absence of the Author. Whose affaires in the Countrey tooke him from cares of the city: or to explaine himselfe more fully, that he may come off fairely, and possesse him of your opinion more freely; He was call'd away from Laurence Jury, by the Impannell of a Northerne Jury, and pressed to attendance by an Old Bayliffe of the Country, when his occasion lay for the Presse in the old Bayly neere the City.[13]

The English Gentleman was widely read, five editions being called for in the quarter of a century following its publication.

The English Gentleman (1630) was followed in the next year by a sequel, *The English Gentlewoman*, which shared its subsequent popularity, and by a book of "characters", called *Whimzies*.[14] Neither of these contains much autobiography beyond what has already been noted, except that in *The English Gentlewoman* we find in one place a suggestion that the author had been traveling, and elsewhere a reminder that he was still much absorbed in Westmorland affairs.[15] In 1632 Brathwait published six "Christian dialogues", in Latin, under the title of *Novissima Tuba*, which, like the courtesy-books, attracted much favorable attention. A translation into English,[16] with a warmly commendatory preface, by John Vicars, came out in 1635. Meantime Brathwait was working at one of the sharpest and most serious of his satires, *The Honest Ghost*,[17] which, however, did not appear until 1658.

After 1630, then, we find evidences of a growing popular approval of Brathwait's work. But the encouragement which

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[13] *The English Gentleman* (1630), "Upon the Errata", at the end of the book.

[14] A translation of Boethius by "Master Brathwayt" was licensed June 6, 1631. *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, IV. 253. It seems never to have been published.

[15] *The English Gentlewoman* (1631), reprinted in the edition of 1641, at p. 401: "During my late and long abode in the Countrey", etc.

[16] Under the title of *The Last Trumpet*.

[17] Some lines prefixed, "To the ingenuous State-Censor":

> Twenty four Harvests now are spent and gone
> Since *This* receiv'd its first Conception; etc.

he must have derived from this was nullified for a time by personal sorrow. On March 7, 1633, just three years after the birth of their ninth and last child, Mistress Brathwait died.[18] Brathwait tells us in *Anniversaries upon his Panarete* (1634),[19] the first of a series of yearly tributes to her memory, that the cause was hereditary consumption, and that she was buried at Kendal.

For over a year, Brathwait's grief—and, doubtless, the exigencies of fathering alone nine children from three to sixteen years of age—almost completely checked his literary productivity. Unless *A Strange Metamorphosis of Man* be his, he published in 1634 only *Anniversaries upon his Panarete*, in which he expresses his bereavement and a desire to escape, to live like a recluse, unseen and unknown. In 1635 came the second year's *Anniversaries*, a touching, if less grief-stricken tribute to the memory of his wife, interspersed as the former one had been, with satire on other less virtuous members of her sex. But in the same year appeared a reprint of *The Five Senses* (first edition 1620) with the addition of "The Contemplations of Panarete", reprinted from the *Anniversaries* of 1635, and "Love's Legacy, or Panaretes Blessing to her Children", a new piece in the same vein; *Raglands Niobe*, an elegy on the wife of Lord Herbert; and *The Arcadian Princesse*, a new satire of considerable length, growing out of his experiences as Justice of the Peace.

From *The Fatall Nuptiall* (1636), wherein is described in some detail a famous ferry accident at Windermere, October 19, 1635, we surmise that Brathwait was still in residence at Burneshead, and still interested in the affairs of the lake country. Doubtless he was then occupied in compiling, from classical sources, *The Lives of All the Roman Emperors*, which appeared in 1636. No *Anniversaries* for this year or the next seem to have survived; but he tells us that he continued them annually, at least to the number of five.[20] The year 1637 is blank. It is

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[18] Haslewood, p. 14. A brief and frequently erroneous biography of Brathwait in *Notes and Queries*, Sept. 20, 1924, pp. 215–16, states that "the first Mrs. Brathwait died childless"!

[19] Sig. B8 ff.

[20] "Panaretees Triumph", the second part of *Astraea's Teares* (1641), sig. E5v: "The sixt yeares Annivers." And a note in *Astraea's Teares*, at sig. D7v, reads, "Vid. Panarete: Annivers. 5."

probable, however, that he was writing with renewed energy, for in 1638 four volumes appear, three of them new: *A Spirituall Spicerie: Containing Sundrie sweet Tractates of Devotion and Piety; The Psalmes of David;*[21] *Barnabees Journall*, his best known work; and *A Survey of History*, an enlarged reprint of *The Schollers Medley* (1614). It would be difficult to find a more heterogeneous assortment of books, the work of the same man in a single year. In addition, Brathwait's hand has been thought discoverable in *Cornelianum Dolium*, a rollicking satire on doctors by Thomas Randolph, which was posthumously published in the same year.

In 1639 Brathwait married again. Exact information as to the date and place of the ceremony is wanting; but it took place at some time between the anniversary of his first wife's death, March 7,[22] and June 27, when we have a reference to the second wife in a contemporary legal document.[23] The lady was Mary Crofts, daughter of Roger Crofts, of Kirtlington, Yorks, and she was seised of her own right of the valuable manor of Catterick,[24] which estate became her husband's by marriage settlement.[25] The Crofts family was of Lancashire descent,[26] a fact which supports Haslewood's surmise that Brathwait had been, "long before his second marriage, in close or neighbourly intimacy"

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[21] See discussion, pp. 129 ff.

[22] "Panaretees Triumph", part two of *Astraea's Teares* (1641), begins:

> Remove that funerall-pile; now six whole yeares
> Have beene the nursing mothers of my teares.
> . . . . . Another rite
> Must banish these presentments from my sight.

[23] "Royalist Compositions Papers", 254, printed in *Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series*, xxxvi. 196. "Richard Brathwaite of Katterick, Esq. . . . That by virtue of a conveyance made by himself 27 June 14 Car. upon his marriage", etc.

[24] Haslewood, p. 15.

[25] The "Royalist Composition Paper" quoted above continues: "He is seized for his life, remainder to his wife, remainder to his sons with other remainders over, remainder to the right heirs of his wife in the manor of Katterick of the yearly value of 120 li." etc.

[26] *The Visitation of the County of Yorke, by William Dugdale.* London, 1859 (*Surtees Society Publications*, Vol. xxxvi), p. 91. "Roger Crofts, bowbearer in Wensdale to Queen Elizabeth, descended from the family of Croft of Clawton in co. Lanc. m. Anne Mountfort (York). Their children were Edward (b. 1604), Anne, Roger (b. 1600) and Mary wife of Rich. Brathwayt of Burneside in com. Westmer. Esqr."

with them.[27] Still more tangible evidence of their previous acquaintance is found in the fact that Brathwait himself had inherited property in East Appleton.[28]

Less than a year previous to his second marriage, Brathwait had assured his beloved sisters that he had no intention of remarrying:

> My teares, my joyes; my widdow-weed, my bride;
> My prize, heav'ns praise; my love, Christ crucifide.[29]

The motives which led him to change his mind were doubtless the obvious and reasonable ones of a man over fifty: he was lonely, and he needed a woman to help him bring up his family; moreover, the match was advantageous in the matter of property. But his literary allusions to the event are naturally less serious in tone. They are contained in *Panaretees Triumph*, presumably written in 1639, but not published until two years later. This is, of course, a kind of final volume of *Anniversaries upon his Panarete*, the title implying that his second marriage is a compliment to his first wife. The bridegroom begins in amorous vein: "Though ripeness of yeares had nipped in me the blossoms of youth . . . yet found I youth enough in my doting fancy", and offers as proof several lover-like addresses to his new mistress, Panthea. Later he remarks that she is "no Helena of Greece", but follows this with a discourse on the hollowness of outward beauty. He compliments Panthea in that, having been a widow six years, she does not "twit her last Choice with abilities of her first husband"; but this is pure jocosity, since Mary Crofts had not been married before.[30] He concludes with a quatrain which, elsewhere than in a bit of pleasantry such as *Panaretees Triumph*, would mean that he had not remarried at all:

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[27] Haslewood, p. 16, note.

[28] The "Royalist Composition Paper" quoted above continues: "That by virtue of a conveyance made by his father he is seized for his life, remainder to his sons, remainder to the right heirs of his father in the manor of East Apleton of the yearly value of 180 li."

[29] *A Spirituall Spicerie* (1638), p. 323.

[30] At least, no mention is made of an earlier marriage in the pedigree quoted p. 43, note 26. Nor does anything appear which explains his references to her as a Scotswoman.

> Some will collect from hence (they cannot chuse)
> That I'm espoused; so am I to my Muse.
> Whose presence yeelds such solace . . .
> . . . . . .
> I would not change with Overberie's wife.

Fortunately, however, other data leave no room for doubt in the matter.

To 1639 belongs another scholarly collection, *An Epitome of All the Lives of the Kings of France*; and an entry in the Stationers' Register under November 25 of that year records the licensing of *Ar't asleepe Husband?*,[31] which duly appeared in 1640. Those who have read this production will note that Brathwait had long since resumed a normal attitude toward womankind. The year 1640 saw also the publication of a prose romance, *Two Lancashire Lovers*, and brought to Brathwait, because of his "many published and unquestionable labours",[32] the honor of being addressed by a stranger, Thomas Nabbes, as dedicatee of a play called *The Unfortunate Mother*. With several others, among them Thomas Heywood, our author also contributed commendatory verses to Yorke's *Union of Honor* (1640),[33] which, like Nabbes' dedication, may be taken as evidence that he had by this time a recognized literary standing.

In 1641, urged on no doubt by the rumors of approaching civil war, Brathwait published five books: the combined reprint of *The English Gentleman* (1630) and *The English Gentlewoman* (1631), now happily united; *The Penitent Pilgrim; Panaretees Triumph; Astraea's Teares*, an elegy on the death of his god-father, Sir Richard Hutton; and *Mercurius Britanicus*, a satire in play form, on the Ship-money controversy of Charles I's time, in which Hutton, who was one of the judges, is cleared of serious blame.[34] One passage of *Astraea's Teares* satirizes the too-rapid training and limited military knowledge of the officers Brathwait saw about him, and employs a number of interesting military

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[31] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, IV. 490.
[32] Thomas Nabbes, *The Unfortunate Mother*, London, 1640, dedication.
[33] James Yorke, *The Union of Honour*, London, 1640. "The Origen and Difference of Coats" etc., signed Ri. Brathwait.
[34] For Brathwait's relations with Hutton, see p. 14.

terms, with the address of an experienced soldier.[35] Thereafter, with the exception of some occasional verse in *The Honest Ghost* (1658), and of *Panthalia* (1659) if it is his, Brathwait published nothing new for eighteen years, that is, until the Restoration.

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[35] See p. 32.

IV

Politics, 1642–1673

During the last thirty years of his life, Brathwait must have resided principally at his manor at Catterick,[1] in close contact with affairs in Westmorland where he continued, with the interruptions natural to the change of government, to act as Justice of Peace.[2]

It is small wonder that Brathwait wrote little during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and most of the Protectorate. As a prominent and wealthy Royalist he was doubtless the object of much unwelcome attention from the Cromwellian agents. The movements of his Ambleside kinsman, Gawen Brathwait, seem to have been closely watched by the Parliament emissaries,[3] and it is likely that Richard's were also. From 1648 on, Brathwait was in serious and continuous difficulties with the Committee on Compounding, which was charged with the collection of money from those opposed to the government. A number of its reports on Brathwait's case, covering the years 1648, 1649, and 1650, are abstracted in the *Yorkshire Archeological Society Record Series*,[4] as follows:

Richard Brathwaite of Katterick, Esq. His delinquency that he was in arms against the Parliament, but it appeareth by a certificate from the Committee of Westmoreland 19 Feb. 1647 that upon the first advance of the Parliament forces into that county, he willingly submitted himself to their

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[1] At Catterick, presumably, was born the only child of his second marriage, a son, Strafford Brathwait, who was afterwards knighted, and was killed in the ship "Mary" during the taking of an Algerian man-of-war, and buried abroad. See Haslewood, p. 16.

[2] *Hist. Mss. Comm.*, 13th Report, Appendix, Part I, 1. 185–6. [A committee report on unsettled conditions in Cumberland and Westmorland, dated October 8, 1644.] "We send the names of several gentlemen . . thought fit to be Justices of the Peace . . Mr. Richard Branthwate, Esq. . . . Gowen Brathwaite, Esq."

[3] *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-1660*, p. 1138. "Gawen Braithwaite, J. P. . . . . 1648. Noted as attending the rendezvous at Tarneybanks, and signing warrants for raising money for the King".

[4] xxxvi, 196. The document abstracted is number 254 of the "Royalist Composition Papers."

command and took the Covenant, he petitioned here 11 Jan. 1648. There is no certificate of taking the Oath. That by virtue of a conveyance made by himself 27 June 14 Car. upon his marriage he is seized for his life, remainder to his wife, remainder to his sons with other remainders over, remainder to the right heirs of his wife in the manor of Katterick of the yearly value of 120 li. That by virtue of a conveyance made by his father he is seized for his life, remainder to his sons, remainder to the right heirs of his father in the manor of East Apleton of the yearly value of 180 li. He is seized of a like estate of the manor of Burneshead and other lands in the Barony of Kendal co. Westm. worth yearly 188 li 6 s. 8 d. Out of which he craves allowance 4 li 1 s 4 d for a chief rent, 2500 li which he is indebted, 500 li which he is indebted, 40 li annuity to Robert Brathwayte his half brother. 10 Apr. 1648—Jo. Readinge D. Watkins. Fine at 1/6 1150 li 12 s 4 d. Apr. 10, 1648. 11 Jan. 1648–9 Petition (as in the report) 5 Feb. 1648–9 Oath.—That the debt of 2500 li in charge upon his lands by the Will of Dorothy Braithwaite his mother is wholly unsatisfied and that he is indebted more to several persons 500 li. 4 Mar. 1649–50.—Order of discharge.

This document is interesting for what it reveals of the Commonwealth's method of raising money and dealing with Royalist landholders. It also tells us that Brathwait was a wealthy man, since the income to which he admits totals nearly £600 a year. And it renders it unlikely that, whatever his military status, Brathwait fought against the Parliament forces, otherwise he could hardly have obtained the certificate to the effect that he did not, even by such deception as was doubtless held no disgrace in dealing with the hated agents. His own later references to his services are vague. He reproaches Charles II's favorites thus:[5]

> Thrice-happy Knights of Windsor who have got
> Both States and Styles for which you ventur'd not;

and he is somewhat more specific in his address to the King himself:[6]

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[5] *The Captive-Captain* (1665), p. 156.
[6] *To His Majesty* (1660), p. 12.

Let him my Liedge, a modest boldness take
Who has expos'd his fortunes for your sake:
And late ingag'd both life & liberty
In his defence of Legal Sov'raignty;

But he never says definitely that he took up arms. His tone in referring to his sufferings is that of determined but helpless loyalty, together with a very natural resentment:[7]

How often have I in my Pastures known
A Rogue Prance on a Horse that was mine own,
And, in a brave insulting frontless sort,
Yet, durst I not call him in question for't?
How often have I seen my Fatlings kill'd?
My Grounds and Medows by your Heifers till'd?
How often have I by mine own Door gone,
And seen my Pales and Houses trampled down:
The Owner quite estranged from his Nest,
As if he had therein no Interest?

The fine of £1150 imposed upon Brathwait by the Commonwealth committee in Yorkshire was paid March 4, 1650, to the corresponding committee in Westmorland.[8] But he failed to satisfy certain further demands upon him, and on February 12, 1651, the order was given to sequester his estates in Westmorland, Sir Henry Bellingham and sixteen of his and Brathwait's friends sharing in this fate.[9] By the end of 1650, in fact, a tenant for Burneshead and Brathwait's other estates had been found, and the committee reports as follows:[10]

1650 Dec. 28 Kendal. Offers made for the following estates of delinquents and Popists for one year's tenancy from 2 Feb. next, and for six years thereafter, viz.— . . . George Taylor, for Rich. Braithwaite's estate of Burneshead, Newhall, &c., 241£ 9 s.

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[7] *The Captive-Captain* (1665), p. 157.
[8] *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-1660*, p. 1888.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 386. The offer for Burneshead is the second largest in the list, the highest amount, £900, being paid by Sir Henry Bellingham's tenant.

Doubtless George Taylor was the rogue referred to in the verses above.[11] Brathwait also refers, this time ironically, to the sequestration of his estates in *The Captive-Captain*. Speaking in the rôle of a prisoner, he says to his manor-house and lands:[12]

> Come, come and tell me thou quaint thing,
> Late sequestred for the King,
> What needst thou care, since thou mayest share
> In freedom of the cheerfull'st ayr?
> Such liberty may give content to subjects,
> When their Princes are injoyned to restraint.

Yet in the very year (1651) in which a Parliament tenant took over Burneshead, its owner found time to see the still popular *Survey of History* (1638) through the press once more, this time as *History Surveyed in a brief Epitomy*. In 1652 this was again reprinted, as was *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* (1641), slightly enlarged and entitled *Times Treasury*. Brathwait also contributed to Loveday's translation, *Hymen's Praeludia* (1652) some verses commendatory of that work.[13]

We hear nothing whatever of Brathwait in 1653 and 1654. But in 1655 a little of his pent-up hatred of the Puritans found an outlet in *A Mustur Roll of the evill Angels embatteld against S. Michael. Being a Collection . . . of the Ancient Heretikes*, where he hints as openly as he dares that "alas they are all lived over againe."[14] One immediate cause of complaint may well have been the levy upon him of £20 for the support of the Commonwealth troops, which he attempted with fair words to have reduced or canceled, in a poem addressed to the judge:[15] "After his Assesse at Penrith; Addressed to his Honour. January 31, 1655."

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[11] See p. 49.
[12] *The Captive-Captain* (1665), p. 165.
[13] *Hymen's Praeludia . . rendred into English by R. Loveday*. London, 1652. "To his deserving Friend, Mr. Loveday, upon his Translation of Cleopatra. Some use to praise before they doe peruse", etc., signed R. Brathwait.
[14] P. 93.
[15] *The Honest Ghost* (1658), p. 306 ff.

> How now! Mount I to twenty pounds Assesse,
> When my Rint-charges rise to such a rate
> As no inferiour Judgement could hold lesse
> Then free indulgence to my squiezed State? etc.

He signs himself "Your most devotionall decimated Servant R. B.", and adds: "With your HON. Certificate, let me partake this noble favour from your approved Goodnesse: To have my Assesse (after the merit of my Cause) respited, till my repair to London, which I purpose (God willing) early next Month. Where I hope by application and your HON. assistance, to mitigate, if not wholly mediate my Assesse". But his eloquence seems to have had little effect, for on February 2, 1655, in another address[16] signed "Your HON. most affectionately devoted re-decimated Servant", he bewails "an additionall Assesse" of £5. There is in both these pieces of verse a conciliating tone, almost as though he were willing to be thought not wholly out of sympathy with the Commonwealth side. Probably, like other Royalists, he was at times forced to temporize with conditions which he could not mend. If the judge was really a friend, some doubt is cast on the certificate as to his not having taken up arms. We are not told whether the "assesses" were paid or not, but from the absence of further trouble we may fairly surmise that they were.

During 1656 and 1657 Brathwait is silent; but in 1658 he published a collection called *The Honest Ghost*, many pieces of which had been written long before; and also the Latin *Lignum Vitae*, most of which seems to have been written earlier.[17] In 1659 *Capitall Hereticks*, a reprint of *A Mustur Roll* (1655), appeared. And *Panthalia*, an elaborate political and social satire in the form of a fictitious narrative, which appeared in that year, is probably his.[18]

The following year saw the return of Charles. Shortly after the King's arrival, our author joined in the chorus of greeting,

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[16] *The Honest Ghost*, pp. 311 ff.

[17] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, iv. 197. "*Lignum Vitae per Richardum Braithwaite armiger.* 17 May 1628." At p. 139 of the edition of 1658 appear the words, "Ex Musaeolo meo 12. Calend. April. An. Salut. 1628."

[18] See discussion, pp. 86 ff.

with a poem *To His Majesty*, in which a deep personal relief finds expression in courtly compliment. Nor was Brathwait, as "a subject sworn to loyalty", wholly without recognition, for his name appears in "A list of such persons names who were deemed fit at the Restoration, to be made Knights of the Royal Oak."[19]

We may judge that he set about the re-adjustment of his affairs at once. At any rate we catch a glimpse of him about the middle of June, 1660, in the prosecution of a typical, if trivial matter, a petition from "Richard Brathwaite, Lord of the Manor of Catterick, co. York. That Chas. Anthony, M.A., may be presented to the vicarage of Catterick, the advowson of which, during the late troubles, has lapsed to the Crown, though ever before esteemed to belong to the manor."[20] From certificates enclosed with the petition, against Chris. Parkes, the incumbent, and in favor of Anthony, we gather that Brathwait was endeavoring to oust Parkes because of his Cromwellian sympathies.

During 1661 we hear nothing of Brathwait; but we may assume that his interest in public affairs remained undiminished, for in 1662 he published a lively satire called *The Chimneys Scuffle*, on conditions under the Restoration régime, which were proving less satisfactory than in 1660. After this he is again lost sight of until the fall of 1663, when he—as well as his son Thomas and his grandnephew Richard—appears to have had some knowledge of and connection with the prosecution of those concerned in the curious affair called the Kaber Rigg Plot, or Atkinson's Rebellion.

The "plot" was an unsuccessful attempt at an anti-Royalist uprising in Westmorland. On the night of October 12, 1663,

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[19] The Royal Oak was an order of Knighthood proposed at the Restoration as a reward for loyalists, especially those whose estates had been sequestered. A list of the persons on whom it would be proper to confer it was prepared, but the design came to nothing. See J. R. Magrath, *The Flemings in Oxford*. Oxford, 1904, p. 508 and p. 188, note 1. Magrath expresses (p. 520) some uncertainty as to the Richard Brathwait mentioned being the poet. But he shows (p. 507) that those eligible for the order were gentlemen who had compounded for their estates, and the poet is the only Richard Brathwait mentioned in the Royalist Composition Papers. The income of the proposed knight is £600. (See p. 48.)

[20] *State Papers Domestic*, Charles II, 1660–61, p. 227.

some thirty men, under the leadership of Robert Atkinson, a former Captain of Horse in the army of Cromwell, met at Kaber Rigg, near Kendal, and rode about the countryside for the purpose of raising an army against the King, with Atkinson as commander. Failing to attract recruits or create any demonstration, they dispersed; so that the actual rebellion lasted but a single night. Differing accounts of the attendant circumstances have been published. According to one historian[21] Atkinson, who was very popular in the district, had as colleagues several prominent men, who were in turn conspirators in a proposed uprising affecting the whole of England, and having for its object "to grant liberty of thought to all but Romanists, to take away excise, Chimney money, and all taxes, and to restore a gospel magistracy and ministry". Another view[22] is that Atkinson was in the pay of the Westmorland Royalists, who fomented the plot for the purpose of discovering and punishing Parliamentary sympathizers.

At all events, it is with the aftermath of the affair that we are here concerned. This can best be followed in the state correspondence about it, between Daniel Fleming and Sir Philip Musgrave, the leading Royalists of the county, and Joseph Williamson, secretary to Sir Henry Bennett, then Secretary of State.[23] From the successive reports of Fleming and Musgrave, it appears that Atkinson betrayed his part in the "rebellion" by boasting about it; and he, along with "thirty knaves on suspicion", was arrested and lodged in Appleby gaol. Evidence was taken before Richard Brathwait of Warcop, grandnephew of the poet.[24] Atkinson, however, escaped almost at once, and although Fleming raised the trained bands against him, remained at large. The fugitive then entered into communication with

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[21] B. Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*. Manchester, 1911, I. 123–124.

[22] Francis Nicholson, "The Kaber Rigg Plot, 1663", in *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions*, New Series, XI. 219–222.

[23] *State Papers Domestic*, Charles II, 1663–1664, pp. 346, 347, 372, 449, 457, 487, 491, 556, 664.

[24] Grandson of Brathwait's brother, Thomas of Warcop. Entries for this branch appear in the *Warcop Parish Register*. See also *Pedigrees Recorded at The Heralds' Visitations of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland*, ed. J. Foster. Carlisle and Kendal, no date, p. 18.

Thomas Brathwait, the poet's son, asking assistance in procuring a pardon; and Thomas Brathwait, for reasons which we can only guess at, promised to help him. Being a Romanist, Thomas Brathwait himself could do little; but he enlisted the sympathy of the above-mentioned Richard Brathwait, who was a connection by marriage of the Duke of Buckingham. Atkinson then placed himself in the hands of the two Brathwaits, and they took their unofficial prisoner to York, where they hoped for an audience with Buckingham. The plan was that Atkinson should turn state's evidence in exchange for a pardon. The Duke having departed, however, they took Atkinson on to London, and delivered him to the Tower, where he was examined before the Lord Chancellor. About the middle of February, 1664, the "arch-rebel" again escaped, or was allowed to escape, and returned to Westmorland, where he remained in hiding until the news came that the Brathwaits had been successful in obtaining for him a pardon from the King.

But on June 23, 1664, we find Musgrave demanding the recapture of Atkinson,[25] on the ground that the Brathwaits had concealed important evidence. The rest of the story is briefly told:[26] Atkinson was again imprisoned; underwent other examinations; was taken to give evidence at York and elsewhere; was imprisoned finally at Carlisle, and hanged at Appleby September 1, 1664.[27] A warrant for his respite was misdirected to Durham and arrived one day too late.[28]

If this labyrinth of mismanagement, concealed motives, and grotesquely unlegal procedure, with its crowning touch in the miscarriage of Atkinson's reprieve, was typical of the state of affairs in the north of England in 1663–64, we can well understand why—loyalist though he was—our author's comment on it and the times in general should be a satire, entitled *Bedlamum Novum*.[29] It takes the form of a dialogue, in Latin prose, between Homannus, newly appointed hangman of Tyburn, and

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[25] *State Papers Domestic*, Charles II, 1663–1664, p. 622.
[26] See Nicholson's article, cited p. 53, note 22.
[27] As proved by an entry in the Diary of Anne, Countess of Pembroke. See *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions*, New Series, XI, opposite p. 232.
[28] Cf. Brathwait's note, translated on p. 56, note 31.
[29] Part two of *Regicidium* (1665).

Morisco, a traveler recently returned from the north. The portions of it which seem to indicate that our Richard Brathwait was connected with the affair more intimately than through his son and grandnephew, are here translated:

Morisc. I have recently returned from the North, in these boots,—muddy, as you see, for I never took them off.

Homan. Good! Everything bad comes from the North. What news has that frigid region to offer?

Morisc. A great deal, and worth keeping in mind; if it were committed to our annals, they would far outdo the Gallo-Belgic tales. If all those things that I have seen with my own eyes could be passed before your gaze, you would surely learn that the whole island is changed into a NEW BEDLAM.

Homan. Whew! How does that come about, pray?

Morisc. From the madness or arrogance of certain people; who, though they are the dregs of humanity, strongly supported with a secret subsidy by the more powerful, or subtly tempted by the hope of gain, are turned into Hectors full of fire. And these generally confess themselves advocates of the Seventh Monarchy, or Fanatics, or Presbyterians, of that execrable scum, or sprung from that seed.

Homan. Whom with my noose I scheme to catch. But I should like to know what part of the North you stayed in, and how many traitors you saw hanged in each county.

Morisc. I'll go back to my point. I'll omit absolutely nothing for you, in giving you the account of our journey. First, lodging was prepared for me in Appleby, the county town of that section. An inn, I tell you, that was paltry, narrow, and cheerless, where I paid more for a place to sleep, than the bed was worth. We heard a great many of the basest sort condemned there by the verdict of the jurors, but very few actually submitting. For they said they had been tempted, and miserably deceived by the exceedingly bad counsel of a certain one, with whom readily agreeing, they rushed headlong into such a fall. And really the ones who perished by the noose were so contemptible and so needy, that their clothes could bring little profit to the executioner.

. . . . . .

Homan. Tell me briefly, where did you junket from that place?

Morisc. Without any diversion[30] I came to York. . . . Prick up your ears gently, and I'll . . . . tell you something that will please you and profit you.

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[30] An untranslatable pun on *divertisti* in the preceding speech. Morisco means, "It wasn't a pleasure trip at all."

Homan. Aren't my ears like buckets, with holding them out so?

Morisc. You have heard, haven't you, of a certain vulgar traitor, called by the name of ATKINSON?

Homan. What of him?

Morisc. What not of him? He is prepared, unless rumor lies, to hand over to your axe, or to the noose of somebody else, not only the tamarisks but the cedars on the judicial docket.—Things just as important follow. He has rods in pickle. Both the big dogs and the puppies will fall. Many things are in the air that haven't appeared. In a short time all will be exposed.[31]

As to our Richard Brathwait's part in the prosecution of Atkinson and his followers, this passage, viewed in the light of the facts given above, admits of more than one interpretation. The poet himself is not referred to in any of the documents, and he may have learned the details of the case merely because his son and grandnephew were in the thick of it, without being himself involved in any way. On the other hand, the character Morisco, who expresses the author's opinions, has been enduring discomfort in order to attend trials at Appleby and York, and hearing the condemnation of "base rascals" who can only have been Atkinson's unfortunate band. Brathwait was a Justice of the Peace until his death,[32] and it seems quite possible that he sat on the bench at Appleby.

At any rate, it is well to have a clue, however incomplete, to some of the allusions in *Bedlamum Novum*. And it is better still to have this reminder of the existence of another Richard Brathwait, who was active during our author's lifetime and who fought on the Royalist side. Haslewood says of Brathwait, "There is a traditionary belief that he commanded a troop of horse during the Civil Wars."[33] But Brathwait was a man of sixty when the

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[31] Pp. 162–172. The reference in the last sentence is evidently to Atkinson's offer to turn state's evidence at York. A note in the original, added after Atkinson's execution, explains that the traitor was "he who, when he saw that his life was safe, became the accuser of a great many. Under which pretext he deceived many, but himself most of all. For he suffered the noose at Appleby, the county town of Westria; his respite coming a little too late, (by the intentional tardiness of a postboy), the next day after he sustained the penalty of treason".

[32] See J. R. Magrath, *The Flemings in Oxford*. Oxford, 1904, p. 206. A letter from Dan'l Fleming to Sir Joseph Williamson, Rydal, February 10, 1675–76, mentioning among those Justices of the Peace who are dead "Mr. Brathwait of Burneshead".

[33] Haslewood, p. 12, note.

Civil Wars broke out; and he later obtained a Commonwealth certificate to the effect that he did not take up arms.[34] Is not the tradition which Haslewood had heard probably the result of a confusion of the poet with Richard Brathwait of Warcop, who liked years afterward to remember his services during "the Revolution"?[35]

During the last eight years of his life, while living comfortably and in considerable local esteem as "chiefe Lord of the Manor of Catterick", Brathwait began to write once more. Perhaps the deference of "his honoured Friend Mr. Alexander Brome", who seems to have submitted to him a copy of his *Songs and Other Poems* (1664) "to invite censure", and to have printed Brathwait's answer in the second and third editions,[36] may have stimulated him. At any rate, in the following year (1665) he published the long-delayed *Comment upon Chaucer*, with certain later pieces added; a book of characters, political satires, etc., called *The Captive-Captain;* and a Latin satire in dialogue form, *Regicidium*. In *The Captive-Captain* some of the subjects, such as "Advice to a Farmer", "Advice to a simple Countrey Curat", and "Advice to a Countrey Justice", reflect his quiet rural life in Yorkshire. He quotes occasionally a wise saying of "our Soveraign King James"; but he does not dwell much in the past. Indeed, he remains very much alive to what is going on in politics. He criticizes sharply the methods used by the government commisioners in dealing with "Subsidy Men".[37] He vents his exultation over the "Crop-ears" in verses "Upon the Face of Rebellion: By the Hand of a Royallist Artfully Deblazon'd".[38] His native county, Westmorland, is still dear to

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[34] See p. 47–48.

[35] Richard of Warcop seems to have been nearly as long-lived as his grand-uncle. He was baptized at Warcop, September 17, 1639. (*Warcop Parish Register*). In *Hist. Mss. Comm.*, 10th Report, Appendix, Part IV, p. 344, appears a letter of his dated at Warcop, October 23, 1721, in which he speaks of his activities during "the Revolution".

[36] A somewhat uncertain matter, for which see Alexander Brome, *Songs and Other Poems . . The Second Edition*. London, 1664, a prefatory letter, "Sir, Your ingenuous Book you were pleased to trust with me", etc., signed R. B. There is little to show that the letter is Brathwait's, and nothing to indicate that it is not. In the third edition, the initials R. B. are transferred to a different letter, and that of the second edition is omitted. See *Chetham Society Publications*, LXXI. 117.

[37] P. 119.

[38] P. 159.

him, and he proudly surveys her record in an address "To . . . Sr Philip Musgrave; Governour of Carlisle".[39] *Regicidium* is a spirited satire on the judges who sent Charles I to his death, and upon the present state of affairs, showing knowledge of both in considerable detail.

Our author's last work was *The History of Moderation* (1669), reprinted after his death as *The Trimmer* (1684), in which—as in all his works—is reflected the trend of the times toward conservatism. In style it is the culmination of a tendency observable in all Brathwait's post-Restoration work, as indeed in all English prose of that period, a tendency toward greater simplicity and directness.

We know very little of Brathwait during the last four years of his life. Probably he withdrew his interests more and more into Yorkshire, for neither Burneshead nor his other estates are noticed in Daniel Fleming's account of the Brathwait lands in his *Description of the County of Westmorland* (1671).[40] Warcop is "now the chief seat of the Brathwaits", Richard (i. e. the poet's grandnephew) being "the present Lord of the Mannor". A letter from Richard Brathwait to Joseph Williamson, dated at Ambleside September 4, 1669,[41] concerning the sale to Williamson of a piece of land at Milbeck, may afford a glimpse of Brathwait's last activities in Westmorland.

Richard Brathwait died May 4, 1673, at his estate in East Appleton, where his father-in-law then resided.[42] He was buried May 7, in the parish church at Catterick. Later a mural tablet was erected on the north side of the chancel, to the memory of Brathwait, his wife, and their gallant son, Strafford. It is in the form of an ornate bracket supporting a tablet, which is sur-

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[39] P. 169.

[40] *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions*, Tract Series, No. 1.

[41] *State Papers Domestic, Charles II*, 1668–1669, p. 473. A letter complaining that Williamson's brother, George, has failed to keep a bargain made for the sale of certain property. Another letter from George Williamson to Joseph gives the name of the property as Milbeck. The Brathwait involved may have been Richard of Warcop; but we know from Brathwait's father's will that the poet had "other lands" in Westmorland, and this may be one of them. For the will see Haslewood, p. 8, note.

[42] Haslewood, p. 17. Mary Crofts was fifteen or twenty years younger than Brathwait, so that her father was probably his son-in-law's senior by only a few years.

mounted by a quartering of the Brathwait arms, beneath an urn. The inscription reads as follows:

Juxta sitae sunt
RICARDI BRATHWAIT
de Burnshead in Comitatu
Westmorelandiae Armigeri; et
MARIAE ejus Conjugis Reliquiae
Ille quarto die Maii Anno 1673.
denatus est Haec undecimo Aprilis 1681.
Supremum diem obiit. Horum Filius
unicus STRAFFORD BRATHWAIT Eques
Auratus adversus Mauros Christiani
Nominis hostes infestissimos fortiter
dimicans occubuit. Cuius Cineres
Tingi in Mauritania, Tingitana
humantur
Requiescant in Pace

The legal disposition of Brathwait's real estate is described in his statement before the Commonwealth Committee of 1648.[43] His personal property, valued at upwards of £700, he left by a nuncupative will to his youngest son, "Sir Strafford Brathwait Knight de Catterick".[44] The eldest son, Thomas of Burneshead, is not mentioned in the will, nor indeed anywhere in Brathwait's work. And since Brathwait wrote much about his family, the omission is a noteworthy one. Possibly an estrangement resulted when Thomas turned Catholic. At all events, with Thomas the disintegration of that branch of the family begins. Complaints of Popery at Burneshead are recorded as early as 1666;[45] and after Brathwait's death in 1673 Thomas was denied the right to succeed his father as Justice of the Peace.[46] He seems later to

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[43] See p. 47–48.
[44] Haslewood, p. 20.
[45] *Historical Mss. Commission*, 12th Report, Appendix, Part VII, p. 40. A letter from Nicholas Fisher to Daniel Fleming, May 13, 1666. "Mass was familiarly heard at Mr. Brathwaite's at Burnside".
[46] Magrath, *The Flemings in Oxford*, p. 206. A letter from Daniel Fleming to Sir Joseph Williamson mentioning among those Justices of the Peace who are dead "Mr. Brathwait of Burneshead, whose heires are not capable of succeeding, being Papists".

have inherited property,[47] and doubtless profited in other ways by Charles II's efforts to secure toleration. But c. 1689 Burneshead was farmed to Protestant tenants, and Thomas and his family went to live at York, being subsequently lost sight of altogether.[48] Thus though the poet himself—except in a few youthful writings—contributed little save what was orthodox and respectable to the family history, after his death, as Hunter says, "the family seem in a generation or two to have come to nothing."[49] No reappearance of literary propensities has been noted in the family.[50]

From the foregoing sketch it would seem that Brathwait was many things besides an author; that here was one to whom writing was only an avocation and a recurrent ambition, and who grew decreasingly creative as he became absorbed in affairs. His career was the normal one of a seventeenth century landed gentleman, Royalist, and Anglican who, in addition to inheriting estates and some aptitude for managing them, was trained in the law. In politics he was a staunch King's man and patriot, but with a sense of his country's faults, and an earnest desire to mend them, so that his later writings were in the vein of the satiric journalist, and made little pretence to be anything higher.

As to Brathwait's personality and character, Haslewood claims the advantage of some oral traditions:

> He left behind him, says Wood, "the character of a well-bred gentleman and good neighbour"; and there might be added, a consistent Christian and upright man. A description of his person has descended orally, as also of his dress, by which the trim fashion of his green years added comeliness to his grey hairs. Tradition reports him to have been in person below the common stature; well-proportioned, and one of the handsomest men of his day; remark-

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[47] *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions*, IV. 364. A letter on the Test-act, 1688. "Thomas Brathwait of Ambleside (Note. A Catholic)" etc.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 341. March 21, 1695–96. A Particular account of the Papists and reputed Papists within the county of Westmoreland. . . . "Thomas Brathwaite, Esquire, his wife and children, have above five years past lived at York, and his estate farmed to Protestant tenants".

[49] British Museum, *Addit. Mss.*, 24,445, f. 58. *Collectanea Hunteriana*, XI. 58.

[50] Unless, indeed, the American anthologist, William Stanley Braithwaite, of Arlington Heights, Massachusetts, is a descendant, as he says, in a letter now in the writer's possession, he would like to believe.

able for ready wit and humour; charitable to the poor in the extreme, so much so as to have involved himself in difficulties by it. He commonly wore a light-grey coat, red waistcoat, and leather breeches. His hat was a high-crowned one, and beyond what was common in those days, when such hats were worn. His equals in life bestowed on him the name of Dapper Dick, by which he was universally known. In disposition he was as admirable as in person; and always taking, from the gaiety of his heart, a conspicuous part in the neighbourhood in promoting the festivities of Christmas, those good times gone by long beheld him the darling of that side of the country.[51]

The man himself, both for his solid worth and for the touch of picturesqueness about him, is better than anything he wrote. In fact, those who know him only through his works have built up for him a considerably less savoury reputation than that which Haslewood here reports. But no one who bears in mind the age in which Brathwait wrote will allow his occasional coarseness to weigh seriously against his traditional neighborliness, honesty, and charity. And to these might be added one quality highly creditable to him, which accounts for a certain modernity one feels in the point of view implicit throughout his work. It is that Brathwait was thoroughly imbued with a sense of the rights of the common man, with sympathy for the oppressed, with distrust of a society in which money or position is of more importance than character. In short, he was full of the feeling which we like to think of as democratic.

To the list of portraits of Brathwait given by Haslewood may be added the one at Dodding Green, reproduced in the frontispiece to this study, and others mentioned by H. S. Cooper, F. S. A., in his "Notes on Richard Braithwaite of Burneside, the poet and writer, and his portraits".[52] Cooper gives a description of the Dodding Green original which is interesting for comparison with Haslewood's description of Brathwait himself, based on tradition: "The painting at Dodding Green . . . shows a well-dressed, rather dandified gentleman of the period. Grey doublet, wide lace-edged falling ruff, fastened with a ruby jewel, lace cuffs, a handsome sword supported by a cross-belt with big

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[51] Haslewood, pp. 18 ff.
[52] *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions*, New Series, XXII. 79–84.

buckle, a ring on the second joint of the fourth finger of the left hand, wide breeches, and a dark blue or black velvet cloak hanging on his left shoulder. . . . The face is florid and handsome, the eyes dark blue, the hair light brown, of medium length, and he wears the pointed beard and moustache of the period."

Manuscript material of Brathwait is exceedingly rare. It has been possible to add only three new autographs to the three very good ones reproduced by Haslewood. This scarcity may be due in part to the extinction of the poet's branch of the family. But accident would not account for the almost equal rarity of copies of his printed works. The best explanation is a more fundamental one, and one which covers both, namely, his contemporary popularity. It has been observed by many students of the history of literature that the number of extant copies of a work is in inverse proportion to its popularity in its time; and by this token Brathwait must have been popular indeed. In other words, he was almost completely "of an age"; and however much that age may have been interested in his comments upon it, later generations found them little worth preserving.

It is, of course, not impossible that further works of Brathwait's may come to light as literary research goes forward. But the fifty-odd volumes we already have are ample in which to focus, from one man's point of view, an unusually long, diversified, and important period of English literary and political history. To have been born in the year of the Armada; to have grown up during the height of Elizabeth's reign; to have come up to London in time for the first performances of *Cymbeline* and *The Silent Woman;* and then to have lived during all but a year of Milton's life, and forty years of Dryden's; to have known the crowning of Charles I and his execution; the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Restoration,—surely this is one recipe for an exciting life, and a life fraught with matter of consequence to the thoughtful observer of human affairs. Aside, therefore, from a few of his works which prove entertaining or instructive even today, Brathwait's chief value for us must lie in the extent to which he was, as Hearne calls him, "the scribler of the times."

V

Satires

Few classifications provide categories which are mutually exclusive. And in dealing with the works of Richard Brathwait, as with those of many seventeenth century writers, any attempt at grouping is invalidated by the nature of the volumes themselves. Whatever his primary purpose in writing, Brathwait was led by his habit of mind and by the practice of the time to make nearly every book a miscellany, a medley of verse and prose, often of jests and prayers, of meditations on life and death and mere curious trifles, like anagrams, bits of topical satire, occasional verse and scraps of autobiography. Nor did he work consistently at any one kind of writing for a long period. No classification of his works can be made, therefore, which would avoid the necessity of considering together parts of books which are widely separated both in their major purpose and in their dates of publication.

The matter of proportion in a brief study of some fifty books of this kind, is also a complicated one. Brathwait's best-known piece, *Barnabees Journall* (1638) was published anonymously, and not attributed to him during his lifetime. Judging by the number of his didactic and satirical works and their many editions during his life, he seems to have gained popularity chiefly as an authority on the various matters which it was assumed were fitting for a gentleman to know, and as a satirist of contemporary affairs from the point of view of a gentleman. But we are also interested for historical reasons in his nature verse and his attempt at a novel. And a few of his productions have intrinsic value. On the whole, however, we are most interested in the pictures he gives of the life of his time, of England under Elizabeth and James I, Cromwell and Charles II. It therefore seems advisable to deal at greatest length with (1) the satires and (2) "characters"; treating more briefly (3) the burlesques, (4) verse, (5) fiction, and (6) didactic and religious works, etc.

Eleven of Brathwait's works, ranging in date from 1615 to 1665, are in intention chiefly satiric;[1] however, satires or satiric passages occur in many of his other volumes. Of these satires it may be said in general that they partake of the nature of journalism, in that all of them, though in varying degrees, reflect contemporary affairs. They range from the political pamphlet, such as *Mercurius Britanicus*, which deals with a specific historical event, through social satire of a more universal kind, to the castigation of personified vices, in the vein of the popular satires of Hall.[2] But even in the last-mentioned type, a brief picture, a reference, occasionally a footnote, remind us that the writer is not completely forgetful of his times.

The satires of Brathwait never achieve the realistic detail of Rowlands or of Dekker in his *Guls Hornebooke*, in their pictures of London life. Yet neither are they wholly vague and general, after the manner of classical satire, censuring universal vices without reference to particular contemporary examples. Like his model, Wither, Brathwait aimed at a kind of satire which should partake of the qualities of both these extremes. And the attempt is the more praiseworthy, considering the thoroughness of his classical studies. He reveals at every turn, in manner and theme, as well as by quotation and marginal reference, his acquaintance with Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. Brathwait practically never laughs at himself; he can compass the direct rebuke of the moralist, Juvenal, better than the tolerant, human laughter of Horace. On the other hand, he is less bitter and savage than the Elizabethan imitators of Juvenal often are. And, especially in his pictures of courtiers, he is not incapable of brief passages of social comedy in the Horatian mood, if lacking Horatian art.

But Brathwait is most himself when his satire is linked with

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[1] *A Strappado for the Diuell* (1615), *The Smoaking Age* (1617), *A New Spring* (1619), *Natures Embassie* (1621), *Times Curtaine Drawne* (1621), *The Arcadian Princesse* (1635), *Mercurius Britanicus* (1641), *The Honest Ghost* (1658), *Panthalia* (1659), *The Chimneys Scuffle* (1662), *Regicidium* (1665).

[2] As to the relation of Brathwait's satires to the classical type in general, see R. M. Alden, *The Rise of Formal Satire in England Under Classical Influence*. Philadelphia, 1899, p. 216 ff. (In *Publications of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series in Philology, Literature and Archaeology, Vol. VII, No. 2).

religious exhortation and self-abasement. Herein, to be sure, he once more resembles Wither. But he owes much also to a sincere personal faith, and to a somewhat unusual reading in Jerome, Augustine, and the other church fathers, whom he continually refers to and quotes. Another of his personal interests was Greek and Roman history, and he is particularly fond of the historical example, more for its own sake than for its application to contemporary affairs.

As to subject, the satires of Brathwait fall into two fairly distinct groups, those on society, written for the most part before 1635, and those on politics, his chief interest after that date. In the first group, his material was drawn in part from his own observation of city life, while in residence at Gray's Inn. But he is much indebted to other writers of "irregular" satirical verse, epigrams, and the like, such as Davies of Hereford, Rowlands, Anton, Harrington, and especially Wither, whose *Abuses Whipt and Stript* (1611) he alludes to several times. Wither was clearly his favorite model for satire.

The epigrams of Brathwait are not of high literary merit. Nor are they uniformly satiric. The term "epigram" was used to denote any brief poem not lyrical or narrative, including occasional verse; and Brathwait employs it in its accepted sense. But the majority of his epigrams are satiric; and they have by virtue of their brevity the advantage of a wide choice of subjects for attack. Two in particular of which he never tires are courtiers and women: courtiers who buy titles, who get on by women's influence, who use perfume; women who paint their faces and wear low-cut gowns, who read improper books, who flirt, who frequent the playhouse and otherwise waste their time, who do not nurse their own children, who marry twice and talk about their first husbands, who are fickle, vain, and stubborn. He complains also of the English habit of following after foreign fads and fashions; pride; ambition; gossip; corrupt lawyers and the miscarriage of justice; "mercenary actors spouting obscene jests"; "plays that have their first acts in Asia, the next in Africa, the third in Europe"; marriages of convenience; Puritanism and the censorship of books; funerals and the odor of sanctity breathed about bad men after their death; drunkenness; the

wild tales told by travelers; doctors and other quacks; landlords and other misers; brokers and the wiles of the city; other poets; newspapers and advertisements; politicians; old men who try to seem young; and, oddly enough, victims of *cacoëthes scribendi.*

Thus categorically set down, the subjects of Brathwait's satire serve to emphasize the similarity between Jacobean social vices and those of all other periods in the history of civilized society, including our own. The list gives the impression that Brathwait, take him all in all, was on the side of the angels. There seems no doubt that a feature of his extraordinarily diverse character,—perhaps that which he expressed most fully in writing—was formed about the belief that he could make the world better by satirizing it. Of course, satirists have ever made this their excuse; but Brathwait insists upon his mission so often that one comes to feel that he is serious about it. And considering the zeal with which he wrote satire, as well as the sincerity of his devotional works, we may recognize in him a genuine moral purpose.

The freshest and most vigorous of the epigrams of Brathwait are contained in his earliest satire, *A Strappado for the Diuell* (1615), a volume covering in modern reprint[3] 239 pages. After the prefatory material (of which, by the way, Brathwait seems to have been unusually fond, since almost all his volumes contain from five to ten pages of it) there follow some fifty-six epigrams. Of these, thirty-one, including the longest, are satiric, the remainder being occasional and panegyric verses, with a few versified anecdotes of a humorous sort. Brathwait here lays the foundation of all his satiric writing, makes the observations and charges which he repeats in various forms in his later books, but hardly augments or improves upon. For example, joining in the momentary fashion, he cries out against the "carpet-knights", whom James had created so lavishly. He accuses them of cowardice, dishonesty, of supporting themselves by dubious relations with the ladies of the court; and apropos their

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[3] *A Strappado for the Diuell*, ed. J. W. Ebsworth. Boston, Lincolnshire, 1878.

undeserved honors, he suggests for their crest the mushroom. He then turns to the city, to wanton woman, that "Ciuill Deuill", and her pander. A special lash is reserved for "The Lands-lord", that "rent-inhauncer" and "Suck-blood", gouging the "poore," to keep his "whoore". He glances at "The Honest Lawyer", inconstant woman, "the Precisian . . . that's wont to slay His Cat for killing mise on th' Sabboth day", the pride and ambition of the clergy, alchemists, actors—all with a freshness and impact which justify Ebsworth's reference[4] to the book's "excess of sparkle and point", and the "robust and boisterous vivacity, suited to men of adventurous spirit and hardihood at the time of England's greatest intellectual vigor".

Among the longer epigrams in *A Strappado for the Diuell*, several are outstanding in subject and in readability. In "To the True Discouerer of secrets, Mounsieur Bacchus . . .",[5] Brathwait pays his earliest respects to the "bottle-nosed" deity who later presided over *The Law of Drinking* (1617) and the wanderings of the hero of *Barnabees Journall* (1638). "Upon the Generall Sciolists or Poettasters of Britannie"[6] reproves Brathwait's fellow-poets for their sycophancy, plagiarism, and licentious love-verse. After testifying to his own love of Chaucer, under the name of Zephirus, the satirist inquires of Britannie:

> . . . where is all that store
> Of diuine wits that thou hast bred before?

Only the pastoral writers are commended:

> Who beare a part, like honest faithfull swaines,
> On witty Wither neuer-withring plaines . .
> And long may Englands Thespian springs be known
> By louely Wither and by bonny Browne,
> Whilest solid Seldon, and their Cuddy too,
> Sing what our Swaines of old could neuer doe.

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[4] *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. ix and p. vi.
[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 1–8.
[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 20–40.

Above all, he adjures the poets to look about them, and mixing their ink with gall, to follow his example in satirizing the times. He laments the cheapness of poetic fashions such as "ballading", and the type of man who aspires to poetic fame, and even gains some notice at court, when he had better have stuck to carrying a pike, or tilling the soil. No doubt Ben Jonson was in his mind, for he says,

> No Lawrell now, but Nettle's best to grace
> Our Laureat Poet: see his uncouth face,
> Unapt for poesie: etc.

"A Satyre called the Coniborrowe",[7] dealing with the women of the town, is remarkable in venom and vocabulary, while "Upon a Poets Palfrey, lying in Lauander, for the discharge of his Prouender"[8] reflects in decidedly witty vein its author's experiences in London's literary Bohemia.

A Strappado for the Diuell seems to have won for Brathwait considerable popularity. A mention of it as late as 1640 alludes to the "laud" that "on Brathwait waiting did abound; When a Strappado for the devill he found", and links its fame with that of Dekker's *Belman of London*.[9] And the author himself implies several times, though rather vaguely, that the frankness of "his devil" had got him into difficulties.[10] But satirists are fond of boasting that their lash has drawn a cry from the wicked. And the controversy, if controversy there was, is less interesting now than the brief but vivid glimpses of the seventeenth century scene which the *Strappado* affords: a tap-room, with the cry of "anon, anon, sir"; "Bartholemews, where all the Pagents showne, And all those acts from Adam unto Noe, Us'd to be represent; . . . How many usd to swarme from Booth to Booth"; the interior of the room of a courtesan, luridly portrayed, with its suggestive

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[7] Pp. 150–155.
[8] Pp. 156–162.
[9] Quoted above, p. 33, note 13.
[10] *Essaies upon the Five Sences* (1635), reprinted in E. Brydges, *Archaica*. London, 1815, II, "Essays upon the Five Senses", note, p. 64. "A pleasant poem by the author, long since published, and by some no less censoriously than causelessly taxed".

pictures and amorous books; traveling tinkers; country judges; cloth weaving and the dyeing of Kendal green; country fairs; snatches of old tunes, such as "Wilson's Delight"[11] and "Arthur of Bradley".[11] Echoes of plays Brathwait has seen,—a line of Middleton, in "It's a mad world, my Masters", of Shakespeare in King Richard "Crying *A Horse, a Kingdome for a horse*", of Marlowe in Tamburlaine and his "Hallow ye pamphred Iades" —run through the book.

The Smoaking Age (1617),[12] Brathwait's contribution to the voluminous literature concerning the introduction and early use of tobacco in England, shares at first the freshness and readability of his earliest satiric work, though later portions of it are confused in thought and style. Structurally it owes little to classical models; rather it harks back to the older informal satire, being part burlesque narrative, part invective.

The writer's contention regarding the use of tobacco is summed up in a couplet at the end of the book:

> Thus have I proved Tobacco good or ill;
> Good if rare taken; Bad, if taken still.

But the summary is misleading. What Brathwait says in the serious portions of the book is that, taken internally as a medicine, tobacco is good, if not used too often; but that, smoked, it is very bad indeed, a point of view which he maintains throughout his works. He whimsically attributes to "tobacco-drinking" many of the faults of the English people of which he complains, their lack of valor, for example, and the decline of their literature.[13]

Like all of Brathwait's satires, *The Smoaking Age* glances frequently, though all too briefly, at the actual life of the time. A couplet on the title-page suggests that not even the strongest men who followed Sir Walter Raleigh's new fashion were immune from the proverbial dizziness at first. We learn of the spread of

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[11] Chappell, in his *Old English Popular Music*, ed. Wooldridge. New York, 1893, I. 249, identifies "Arthur a Bradley" as "an old ballad". "Wilson's fancy" seems to be unknown.

[12] Part two of *The Law of Drinking.*

[13] In a poem appended to "The Smoaking Age", called "Chaucer's Incensed Ghost".

tobacco-smoking at the Universities, and how "our young English gallants' first salutation to their acquaintance is, Will you take a pipe of Tobacco?" We are reminded of the numerous pamphlets on the subject and of the absurd claims made for tobacco as a curative drug, "the onely soveraigne experimentall cure, not onely for the Neapolitan itch, but generally for all maladies incident to man's bodie . . . [which] cured . . . asthma, Canker, King's Evill" and other diseases, including consumption. Some interesting details are given of the little, dark shops where tobacco was first sold. They seem to have been, by Brathwait's account, "for the young effeminate sort . . . with a Ganymede to crye What do you lacke? Pomatum of the best, Cerusse; what do you lacke?" They were divided into two rooms by a curtain, the inner being used, apparently, for "tubbing". The shops were curtained off from the public gaze and were usually full of young men enjoying the thrills of a disreputable indulgence. On the door was displayed "the picture of some sallow-faced Blackamoore, or a Virginia-man".

Of the three parts of *The Smoaking Age*, which deal respectively with the infernal origin of tobacco, Pluto's curse on the plant, and "Time's complaint against Tobacco", (the serious attack already mentioned), the first, a burlesque narrative called "The Birth of Tobacco", is especially enjoyable to read for its own sake. In 1703 it attracted the attention of an anonymous editor who, by omitting the tedious and irrelevant prefatory matter, modernizing the phraseology and touching up a detail here and there, produced a piece of prose so sprightly that no reader could fail to be amused by it. This very intelligent abridgement shows what could be done with many of Brathwait's narratives, by blue-penciling his facile and discursive style. "The Birth of Tobacco" is a burlesque on classic myth, somewhat in the manner of Lucian's *Vera Historia* but, as Routh suggests,[14] owing much to the example of the anonymous *Metamorphosis of Tobacco* (1602), an imitation of Ovid. Doubtless in deference to the King's opinion as expressed in *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (1604), Brathwait's burlesque takes the opposite

[14] *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV. 399.

point of view to that of the *Metamorphosis*, which represents tobacco as a divine gift. In "The Birth of Tobacco", an illegitimate son of Bacchus and Proserpine is by Jove's decree transformed into a plant and exiled by Pluto from Hades to earth, there to be called in memory of its disreputable father, "To bacco". The narrative is comical and ingenious, and justifies Routh[15] in accounting Brathwait "the most noteworthy" among the many writers subsequent to King James, who discussed tobacco.

In the remainder of his social satires, Brathwait exhibits a tendency to depart from the epigram, and to write longer and more formal pieces, in series, and bound together by a kind of framework. In *Natures Embassie: or, the Wilde-mans Measures: Danced naked by twelve Satyres* (1621), for example, some thirty-two vices, each personified in a figure from classical history or mythology, are separately dealt with in satires of considerable length. *Times Curtaine Drawne*, justly praised by Corser[16] as containing some of Brathwait's best efforts in satire,[17] is a carefully organized "Anatomie of Vanitie", directly attacking contemporary evils under such general headings as "Riches", "Pouertie", "Iustice", "Iniustice" and the like. Especially in the attacks on abuses among the clergy, there is a stern, almost savage mood; indeed, it is much that of Milton in *Lycidas*. In "An Age for Apes",[18] the device is to have the satirist fall asleep beside a rill, whereupon "Monkies, Marmosites, and Apes" appear one by one before him. First comes The Ape of Honour, who tells how he has got on in the world, by shouldering other men aside, marrying for money, learning whom to flatter and whom to snub. Then follow in slow succession The Ape of Pleasure (a bed-chamber knight), The Ape of Vaine-glory ("My Titles make mee Great, and that's enough."), The Ape of

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[15] *Ibid.* But Brathwait's myth does not trace tobacco "to its origin as a son of Pluto", as Routh states.

[16] T. Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, Part II, p. 369. This book is hereafter referred to as *Collectanea*.

[17] Some degree of popularity is argued for the book, by a careful ms. copy of "A Pastoral Eglogue", *Times Curtaine Drawne*, sig. L6, in Ashmole Ms. 36, 208. The writing is that of Ashmole.

[18] Found in *The Honest Ghost* (1658). "An Age for Apes" is one of the portions written earlier. See p. 40, note 9, and p. 41, note 17.

Fancy ("Doe but admire me, it is all I crave"), The Ape of Fashion, The Ape of Observation (referring to the tales told by travelers), The Court Ape ("O briske I am, so sweet and so perfum'd"), The City Ape (a clever tradesman), The Country Ape (carrying an almanac), and others. At the end the sleeper passes judgment on each, making the punishment fit the crime: The Ape of Vaine-glory, for instance, is sent to the pillory; The Chymicall Apé has a urinal broken over his head. "An Age for Apes", the last of Brathwait's social satires, is in many ways also the best. It is the most complete, coherent, and even. Though less enjoyable than *A Strappado for the Diuell*, because less impetuous and vigorous, it represents a more mature observation and a calmer judgment of human frailty. It is also dependent for its success on the not inconsiderable native wit of Brathwait, rather than on classical machinery and quotation.

General and formal as are Brathwait's later social satires, they resemble the earlier work in containing occasional transcripts from the life about him which add materially to their interest. A good example is "A Trapanner",[19] a separate piece printed in the same volume as "An Age for Apes", which reflects once more his Bohemian life in London. "A Trapanner" relates how "Roysting-Rufflers" are wont to rush in upon a young man in a tap-room, drink his health, send in a painted hussy to him, and then reenter, crying, "'slid, my wife!", or "My sister!" or "My cozen!". Then they pluck him. "Their pretence," adds Braithwait, "is to Slice this Brain-strap into Sippets: or mince this Land-gull into a galle-maufrey. No hope, unlesse his pocket purchase him a reprieve . . . The weakest goes to wall."

About this time, moreover, we begin to come more frequently than before on realistic satirical passages in works not primarily satiric. The following reproof to the woman of fashion, interesting also for its theatrical allusions, is an illustration:[20]

> For all your pretious Morning-houres are given
> For you to paint and decke you till eleven;

[19] *The Honest Ghost* (1658), pp. 94–97. The interesting allusions to London ruffians in this piece and in "An Age for Apes" are discussed in *Studies in Philology*, xx. 404–7.

[20] *Anniversaries upon his Panarete; Continued* (1635), sig. A6.

And then an houre or two must be the least
To jeere your foolish Lover, or to feast,
Or court your amorous cringing Favorite
With a bare-bathed breast to feed delight,
And purchase more Spectators:—but time's lost
Till a Play-bill be sever'd from the Post
T'informe you what's to play; then comes your Coach,
Where numerous light-ones, like your selfe approach,
But where's Devotion all this while? Asleepe,
. . . . . .
But now you'r seated, and the Music sound
For th' Actors entry; pleasures doe abound
In ev'ry Boxe; some times your eye's on th' Stage,
Streight on a lighter Object, your loose Page,
Or some phantastike Gallant, or your Groome,
But when this Embleme of your life is done,
This piece of witty art, what doe you then?
To your sinne-shrouding Coaches streight againe
You make repaire, where you relaters bee
Of what your Eare did heare, or Eye could see.
Then to a luscious Supper, after this
To a reere banket, or to some quaint dish
To move a sensuall slumber, and delight
But never sate your boundless appetite.
Thus you in painted joyes mis-spend your dayes
More to your suiters than your Makers praise.

From 1635 on, the satires of Brathwait deal almost entirely with political conditions and events. As might be expected, his productions varied in popularity according to their outspokenness and timeliness. As to form, after an unsuccessful attempt to extend the classical regularity of such works as *Natures Embassie* to so unwieldy a topic as the abuse of justice, Brathwait turned to quasi-drama, a medium which he may well have learned through his connection with Thomas Randolph's *Cornelianum Dolium* (1638).

The earliest of the political satires is *The Arcadian Princesse; or The Triumph of Iustice: Prescribing excellent rules of Physicke for a sicke Iustice* (1635). It was the fruit of some fifteen years' experience as a Justice of the Peace. It enlarged upon the ideal

of impartiality and freedom from corruption which the author had upheld in *The English Gentleman* (1630) and about which he felt deeply concerned. Unfortunately, the method of *The Arcadian Princesse* is so elaborately mechanical and repetitious as to render it almost unreadable. Many of Brathwait's most popular volumes were those in which he felt that he was dashing off, with little effort, a thing of no importance. *The Arcadian Princesse* is an example of his most painstaking work.

The satirist here lays bare certain defects of the English judiciary, in an allegory some 250 pages in length, of mingled verse and prose. A series of judges, each personifying some disease of the state, and labeled with a descriptive classical name, are arraigned before the goddess of justice, Themista. Alarmed at their condition, she sends for Æsculapius, who successfully applies the appropriate cure for each disease. The weakness of the satire is apparent in that, though the maladies are real enough, the physician has no possible equivalent in practice. As Corser remarks,[21] the story is "entirely allegorical, and not particularly interesting". But it suffers most from the elaborate machinery which overlies the narrative. A detailed summary of the entire contents is prefixed; but before each chapter we find an argument which repeats that part of the contents which follows, as well as some verse on the same theme, and often a second argument; and the volume concludes with a summary of the whole! Small wonder that one critic[22] should have found it "too dislocated and heterogeneous to command a complete perusal". There is little realism in *The Arcadian Princesse*, and little of the wit with which Brathwait can adorn a subject less close to his heart. The interpolated "Poesies", however, maintain a respectable level of versified good sense, and to some extent justify Dibdin's comment[23] that "Brathwait shines with more lustre as a poet from some passages in this work than in any to which his name is attached."

It is likely that *The Arcadian Princesse* enjoyed little success in its day. There was but one edition, and apparently no

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[21] *Collectanea*, Part II, p. 403.
[22] T. F. Dibdin, *Bibliomania*. London, 1876, p. 299, note.
[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 301, note.

comment upon it. Significant is its contrast with Brathwait's second political satire, *Mercurius Britanicus*, of six years later. This popular work is notable for its allusion to the contemporary excitement over ship-money, and is as clear and unmistakable in its content as could be desired.[24] It ran through no less than five editions in a single year.

Mercurius Britanicus takes the form of quasi-drama. The list of Dramatis Personae names twenty-seven characters, most of them having descriptive names translated into Greek. They include "two familiar friends", two philosophers, rustics, judges, citizens, a chorus of Parliament men, a chorus of vulgar people, and the ghost of Coriolanus (Strafford). The introduction of so many characters, as well as the lack of dramatic movement in the piece, makes it unlikely that the "play" was acted, though the titlepage proclaims it "A Tragic-Comedy at Paris. Acted with great Applause." The main action is a trial, in which the defendants are the twelve judges of the Court of the Exchequer, who in 1638 gave Charles I the fatal advice to levy Ship-money, and who tried the test case in which Hampden appeared, and decided it in favor of the levy. The satiric court passes judgment upon the judges in strict accordance with the facts of the historical trial. Hortensius and Corvus Acilius, who are acquitted of all blame, are readily identified as Judges Hutton and Croke, who did actually pronounce in favor of Hampden. Incidentally, since Hutton was Brathwait's godfather and benefactor and had recently died,[25] the court is made to utter a eulogy of him:

CLERK. Let Hortensius come forth.

RODERIGO [the porter]. We had never any charge of him.

MANILIUS [one of the three judges in the play-court]. Thou sayest true Roderigo, hee was so sincere a Guardian of his actions, that he lived and died untainted; the memory therefore of so good and Worthy a Patron, is to bee deplored with perpetuall Elegies: he deservedly obtained this title; An honest Iudge, the Poore mans Patron and Protector: which title is

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[24] The timeliness of the piece is reflected in its title. "Mercurius", coupled with various adjectives, "Britanicus" among them, is the caption of innumerable "intelligencers" of the day.

[25] See p. 14.

a greater glory then the Empery of the worlds circumference: he surprized envie by vertue, and carried honours to his grave.

The Ghost of Hortensius appeares, and vanisheth shining with amiable countenance.

Three other judges in the ship-money trial supported Hampden on technical grounds, and they appear as Corticius, who is permitted to argue with the play-court, Trivius, who is indicted in lukewarm fashion, and Antrivius, who is acquitted of blame. The remaining seven judges, whose verdict decided the trial of Hampden, are severally indicted in the following words:

In the Tearme of Hilary, 1637 . . [thou] . . didst . . deliver up thy opinion in the case of Ship-money, to be paid to the . . King, forasmuch as there was then no urgent occasion in the King to demand it, and it being solely in your powers to dijudicate of his necessity.

Brathwait's attitude in the matter is thus apparent: he took a middle ground, against Ship-money, but for the King, and therefore against the judges. What he seems to condemn most in them is their vacillating policy, which he couples with his usual charges of corruption, and their giving the King what he considers bad advice, not only because it struck at the liberties, as well as the purses, of his own class, but also because of the folly of the move politically.

The events of the play-trial are enlivened in various ways. We have the mocking comments of a philosopher, Democritus, upon the precariousness of the times:

In these times it is more security to be a fool then a wise man: for a wise mans head is a subject for the axe, a fool keeps his upon his shoulders: . . In Troynovant . . thou shalt see Coblers and Hucksters, that arise out of old Shoes and Panniers, beating the Pulpit and broaching new doctrines, as if they were Regii Professores, and held by the Rabble to be most profound Divinity; yea, I cannot wash my hands, but mee thinkes I see the soapy effigies of Brunfield in the Bason: nor can I goe downe into a Cellar, but I finde the lively statue of Master Abel; yea, I cannot unty my shooe, but I call to mind that patent for Leather, and deride it . .[26]

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[26] *Mercurius Britanicus*, the second English edition, at sig. A2v. It seems likely that the book appeared first in Latin, and was translated—very badly—by some unscrupulous person. The second editions, in Latin and English, are much better, and contain a warning "To the Reader" that they are "the only genuine edition[s]".

Popular approval of the bill providing for the convening of Parliament every three years, whether called by the King or not, is satirized in Ægon, a rustic present in the court-room: "I will tell thee a secret . . .," Ægon says to his companion, "wee shall have a Trienniall Parliament every yeare. . . I must confess . . I know not whether Trienniall be man or woman. But this I know, that, for the report of it in the countrey, wee past all the night in making bonfires."[27]

After sentence is pronounced,[28] Brathwait in his character of "The English Intelligencer", as announced by the sub-title of the satire, adds two more episodes, which are among the most amusing and realistic in his satirical work. Among the citizens who throng the court for a glimpse of the famous judges to be arraigned, are one Ramme and his light-o'-love Priscilla, who talk in character about what they see. This scene,[29]—which, interestingly enough, is considerably developed in the English translation authorized, and possibly made, by Brathwait himself—displays by pointed dialogue two characters in an ironic and real situation, and indicates that had Brathwait been able to shake off his desire to be both Puritan and Cavalier, he might perhaps have become a comic dramatist in the manner of a lesser Middleton.[30] Priscilla excites Ramme's jealousy by flirting with men of her acquaintance whom she sees in the court. When finally she gets her wished-for view of the judges, she bursts into long and raucous laughter, and exclaims:

> Hah, hah, hah: they will make cold bedfellowes, that have Decembers icekles hang all the yeare long in their snowy beards, sure their coldnesse and frozen ware must needes beget whore frosts in their beds. . . Boyes, I can hardly bee perswaded that they are of the Masculine gender. They are a drye stocke, perfidious cattell, enemies to generation, hang them and their judgements.

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[27] Sig. A4.

[28] The assumption is that the judges are to be hanged, since an epilogue runs: "It is determined by the Masters of publicke Playes, that the next day (by Joves permission) the fift Act shall bee acted upon Tyber, I should say Tyburne".

[29] Sig. C2v. See note 26 as to the edition.

[30] But see p. 86, as to the probable influence of Randolph's *Cornelianum Dolium* (1638) upon such innovations in Brathwait's work.

The second additional scene[31] takes place among a Conventicle of Plebeians whom Brathwait's arch-enemy, Prynne, is addressing:

CONVENTICLERS. Speake out Father Pinner, speake out for the whole flocke: for you are the mouth and Oracle of all our Conventiclers . .

PINNER. Know all men by these presents (dearly beloved brethren and sisters) that there are three things especially to bee required of us, abetters of the truth; Compassionate for the blindnesse of the times, burning with the zeal of soules, and panting after the reformation of Religion.

DEMOCRITUS [the philosopher]. This phanaticall reformer of Religion, makes my worship smile: Hah, hah, hah.

PINNER. First, that we admit of no order in the Church. Secondly, that all Rites and ceremoniall Relicts, to wit, Priests Garments, all sorts of musicke be abolished out of the Church, Lastly, that there be no set forme of prayer.

HERACLITUS [Democritus' companion]. What a miserable headlesse Church these Dotards would make!

DEMOCRITUS. Be silent and heare, see and behold, how these notted and round heads with their pricke eares do listen and stare on their predicating Pinner, and are amaz'd at his doctrine . .

PINNER. . . . Give speciall notice to Francis Holyoake the Dictionary-maker, that he marke with the marke of the Beast, that Apocryphall word Bishop . .

Pinner's sermon, which follows, is vilely abusive; but the parody of self-righteous, ignorant rhetoric is done with some skill, and must have been uproariously funny to the Royalist reader.

Mercurius Britanicus is decisive for Brathwait's political and religious views, and—given some knowledge of the complicated conditions which it satirizes—far from tiresome reading. Similar to it in subject and method is the last of his political satires, *Tragi-Comoedia, Cui in titulum inscribitur Regicidium* (1665), in which the judges accused are those who condemned Charles I to death. Though somewhat more elaborate and more varied in its movement than *Mercurius Britanicus*, the *Regicidium* lacked the timeliness of its predecessor, and did not share its popularity. But one edition of it appeared, in Latin, and no translation was made.

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[31] Called in the play, "Act Four".

The play opens with a dumb-show, "The Beheading", in which the eighteen "proditores" are made to illustrate the various moods in which men meet death: Haeresio comes on as *Spiritus Elatio*, Chareste as *Audacia*, Clementio as *Arrogantia*, and so on. In Act I the traitors are led through Newgate to the seat of the court, and as they pass, Bullaeus the hangman tells us their names and the degree of their guilt, but in such general terms that no identification with the actual judges of King Charles seems to be intended. The scene then changes to a court, with judges, clerk, janitor, as in *Mercurius Britanicus*, and each of the eighteen traitors is called before the bar, charged, and allowed to speak at some length in his own defense. They are eventually found guilty, however, and sentenced to be hanged.

Evidently Brathwait felt that this process of examining, arguing with, and determining the precise degree of personal and political guilt of each of the eighteen judges, was likely to prove dull reading twenty-three years after the event. For *Regicidium* is more frequently interspersed than *Mercurius Britanicus* with comic or ironic scenes which serve the purpose of relief. In Act I, scene 1, Bullaeus and Dunnaeus, the hangmen, discuss the situation, and the possibility of profit for themselves. An amusing bit of parody is that in which Dunnaeus traces his coat of arms, with crest of three crossed trees, and motto *Ne Plus Ultra*, from that of the great family of hangmen, and tries to involve even the great Derrick himself in his genealogy. The second and third scenes of Act III are also scenes of comic relief. In the former, Dunnaeus and his wife Pimpinella are besieged by a mob of artificers with whom Pimpinella has been running up bills. Dunnaeus, mounting the scaffold, curses the artificers as *faeces ex canalibus Pickhatchiae, Houndsdichiae* and other obscener places, but promises that, since the death of traitors is money for the hangman, they shall be paid. In III, 3, the comic figure is a rustic woman from Gotham, who like Priscilla in *Mercurius Britanicus*, wishes to see a judge. She chats amusingly about the sights of London, the Giants, the Lions and the Monuments of Kings, and asks to be taken to see a shipment of golden eggs reported in the rural districts to have arrived from Jamaica. The long fourth act is varied by a *Chorus Conju-*

galis, the lament of the wives of the judges, over their prospective widowhood. Scenes 4 to 10 of the fifth act show various aspects of the execution as they might be observed by one walking about the streets. A townsman and his mistress enter on their way to see the execution, anxious to get a good view of it, no matter how much it costs. Glimpses of the crowds, the ropes, the flames, follow rapidly. A Restoration hymn is sung. Dunnaeus is shown appeasing his creditors. Gazettas are hawked about, with cries of "News, news, recently edited." Convivial friends pause in their celebration to advise the judges' wives to forget their dishonoured husbands. "A Voice from the Cloud" utters a warning to traitors and praise of the Prince, and the play ends. Affixed are a few remarks on the art of the drama, in which the author attempts to justify himself for the large number of scenes and players introduced. *Regicidium* is a confused but vigorous piece, undoubtedly written, as Corser observes,[32] "*con amore* on a subject in which he felt deeply interested", but less timely and less specific in its references than its forerunner.

At the end of *Regicidium* occurs a briefer but more timely satire entitled *Bedlamum Novum*, dealing with post-Restoration conditions in Brathwait's own district, the North; with the conflict of religious sects, the plots and counter-plots and the examination and hanging of rebels. It takes the form of a dialogue between Homannus, successor as hangman to Dunnaeus of the *Regicidium*, and Morisco, a traveler from the North. Morisco reflects with satisfaction on the justice which has been done in the case of certain notorious Commonwealth men, such as Ludlow, that most wicked priest Richardson, that bloody judge, Lisle, and on Goff, Whaley and Hewson, all of whom have either been hanged or have fled the country. Homannus interrupts him to complain of the unprofitableness of his office, now that he has to deal with lesser traitors, whose clothes net him little, to say nothing of losing many a case because of the new practice of transporting criminals to the Barbadoes. They finally decide, however, that at any rate a few guilty men are

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[32] *Collectanea*, Part II, p. 450.

being hanged, whereas in Cromwell's time the guilty escaped and the innocent were hanged. On the whole *Bedlamum Novum* hardly lives up to the promise, implied in the title, of a revelation of the mad state of affairs in the North. One feels that the author has a real knowledge of conditions, but for some reason prefers to hint at, rather than to explain them.[33] Meantime he wanders off into by-paths, fills up his pages with trivial stories. Some of the digressions, indeed, are interesting in themselves. For example, Homannus, who has a nice taste in highwaymen, reminisces about the great ones in that profession who have come to his rope and gives a picturesque account of one Ratsby,[34] who when taking a purse always knighted his victim with drawn sword, and who in his younger days used always to carry a flute or viol, and after he had robbed a coachful of people, would lead them in a song. But as political satire, *Bedlamum Novum* leaves the impression that the author chose to reveal less than he knew. In the same year (1665) the device of a dialogue between the public executioner and a friend is again used in "The Black Rod", a brief but bitter condemnation of the Rump Parliament, included in a book of "characters", *The Captive-Captain*.[35] This, with a few still shorter pieces on similar subjects, brought to an end Brathwait's political pamphleteering and his satiric work in general.

The fecundity of Brathwait's pen, together with his fondness for concealing his authorship, have led to the attribution to him of a number of works in various fields,[36] of which some are certainly his, others must remain doubtful, and still others are clearly the work of other hands. Among these, three of the first group

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[33] For discussion of the autobiographical element, etc., in *Bedlamum Novum*, see pp. 52 ff.

[34] Ratsby may be safely identified with Gamaliel Ratsey, the notorious robber said to have knighted a player in a strolling company in the manner here described. Doubtless Brathwait had been reading *Ratseis Ghost* (1605), a book of biography and anecdote published in the year of Ratsey's execution. See Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare*. New York, 1916, pp. 278, 279, 298, 300.

[35] Pp. 101–114.

[36] A list of the questionable attributions, which aims at completeness, is included in the bibliography at the end of the present study.

and one of the last are satires, and their authenticity can best be discussed at this point.

Cornelianum Dolium (1638), traditionally believed to be the posthumously published work of Thomas Randolph (1605–1635), was first ascribed to Brathwait by Crossley,[37] who argued that it was not Randolph's[38] but bore certain "marks" of Brathwait's authorship, as follows: (1) a frontispiece by Marshall, the engraver most frequently employed in Brathwait's books, (2) the printer Harper, who issued four of Brathwait's known pieces, 1635 to 1640, (3) the dedication to Sir Alexander Radcliffe, to whom Brathwait dedicated *Whimzies* (1631), and probably *Barnabees Journall* (1638), (4) the presence in *Cornelianum Dolium* of riming Latin verses in the meter of *Barnabees Journall* of the same year, (5) an apology for the errata, and (6) a general similarity of style. Corser in his *Collectanea*[39], though conceding Crossley's arguments against Randolph's authorship to be strong ones, is inclined to await further evidence before concurring. Hazlitt in his *Handbook*[40] comments as follows: "Attributed to Brathwait by Mr. Crossley on internal evidence in which I hardly know whether to concur or not. Is it not too good for him? My own impression is that Randolph having left the MS. behind him it was put into Brathwait's hands to edit and by him furnished with the Brathwaitian touches." Kottas[41] considers it possible that Brathwait had a share in the play. The most recent commentator, Parry, makes no question of Randolph's

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[37] *Notes and Queries*, Second Series, XII. 341.

[38] *Op. cit.*, p. 341. "If the play were written by Thomas Randolph, who died four years before the date of its publication as Mr. Douce supposes, surely it would have been claimed for him by his brother Robert Randolph, and added to his works, of which at least five editions appeared after 1638. But neither in the booksellers' lists of the time, which very often give the full name of the author when his initials only are prefixed to his book, nor in the notice of Randolph in Langbaine, is any mention made of his being the author of this play. And it seems difficult to understand, on the supposition of its being by him, why the publisher should not have availed himself of the attraction of a popular name, instead of shrouding it in the ambiguity of initials, especially as the author was dead, and there could be no motive for concealment".

[39] Part II, p. 451.

[40] W. C. Hazlitt, *A Handbook to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain.* London, 1867, p. 53.

[41] Karl Kottas, *Thomas Randolph Sein Leben und Seine Werke.* Vienna and Leipzig, 1909, p. 15.

authorship:[42] "This title-page, and the dedication, which speaks of the author as having recently died, apply to Randolph better than to any other T. R. of the time and I see no reason to question his authorship; it was credited to him as early as the time of Aubrey." Parry goes on to say, however, that "some of the Latin forms resemble the Latin of Richard Brathwaite, and it is possible that he may have revised the play for publication."

Crossley's arguments for depriving Randolph of *Cornelianum Dolium* are negative ones,[43] and in view of its acceptance by students of Randolph, we may safely assume that it is for the most part his work. As Parry points out,[44] the initials on the title-page and the reference to the author as having recently died, are good evidence. And Moore Smith, in a recent essay, remarks in passing that he is convinced of Randolph's authorship of the play.[45] Certainly the nimble movement of the scenes, the wit, and the subject matter are comparable to Randolph's known work, and on the other hand, quite above the level of Brathwait's. Additional facts which point in the same direction may be noted. Two pieces known to be Randolph's, *The Muses Looking-glasse*, and *Amyntas*, were first printed in 1638, as well as a collected edition of these and other poems. This points to activity on the part of Randolph's friends toward the publication of his works in this year. Moreover, in 1660 "*The Prodigall Scholar*, a Comedy by Tho: Randall"[46] was entered with the Stationers' Company. Though nothing further is known of the book, this title fits *Cornelianum Dolium* exactly, and it is altogether possible that the comedy was a translation of *Cornelianum Dolium*.[47] If so, it is not impossible that Brathwait was the translator, since in *Panthalia* (1659), just a year before the

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[42] *The Poems and Amyntas of Thomas Randolph*, ed. John Jay Parry. New Haven, 1917, Introduction, pp. 40–41.

[43] See note 38 above.

[44] *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 41.

[45] *William Hemminge's Elegy on Randolph's Finger*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith. Oxford, 1923, Introduction, p. 3.

[46] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Eyre and Rivington, II. 271. June 29, 1660. In a list of plays entered for Humphry Moseley, which includes several other pieces of earlier date, by William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, Robert Davenport, etc.

[47] Randolph's name appears elsewhere as Randall. It is so spelled, for example, on the title-page of *A Pot of Good Ale* (1642).

registering of *The Prodigall Scholar*, he himself employs the phrase "Cornelian Tub" for the only time in all his works.[48]

At all events, the critics are agreed that Brathwait may have had some hand in *Cornelianum Dolium* as published. No external evidence connecting him with Randolph or with the play has come to light. But the "marks" of his authorship are not in themselves convincing. Of those mentioned by Crossley we may discount the frontispiece by Marshall, who may have engraved a portrait of Randolph himself,[49] and the printer Harper, who issued Randolph's *Aristippus*.[50] The dedication to Radcliffe, the rimed Latin, and the apology for the errata, could be otherwise explained. In regard to the latter, however, it should be noted that while the mere presence of an apology for the errata is by no means peculiar to Brathwait's works, in this case the form, Latin couplets in trochaic tetrameter, is exactly paralleled in his known work: for example, cf.

> Corneliani sit amoris
> Hos corrigere errores
> . . . . . .
> Preli, praelii, vitae, voti,
> Vos Errores valetote.[51]

with the following, from *Barnabees Journall* of the same year:

> A vertice ad calcem
> Erratis admove falcem.

and

> His Patavinus erravit prelis,
> Authorem suis lacerando telis.

and

> Inter Barnabae errores,
> Hi mutarunt preli mores.[52]

The line composed of single words is well known as a peculiarity

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[48] See p. 88.
[49] See Parry, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 21.
[50] See Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[51] *Cornelianum Dolium* (1638), p. "143" v.
[52] Haslewood, "Journall", sig. E10 and sig. L10 and L12.

of Brathwait's style, in Latin and English. The repetition of *prelum*, a wine-press, in connection with the printing, is noteworthy, also the pun on *prelum* and *praelium*, a battle, which occurs in two other of Brathwait's known works about this time.[53]

Other internal parallels occur. We need not attach too much weight to Brathwait's previous use of the name Cornelius for a profligate. The name Cornelius with this connotation may have been current university slang, which both Brathwait and Randolph had heard at Cambridge, especially since the piece in which Brathwait uses it also mentions Cambridge.[54] But the coupling of the words "candide, condite, cordate" in the dedication to Brathwait's friend, is paralleled in the dedication to *A Strappado for the Diuell* (1615), "Candido et cordato . . Richardo Musgraue," etc. And in Cornelius' address, "Omnibus et Singulis", occurs a Latin phrase of which Brathwait is fond: "periissem nisi periissem",[55] while another of his favorites, "Foecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?" occurs soon after.[56] Occasional parallelism in the names of characters, such as Peregrinus[57] and Neapolitanus,[58] and the fact that Brathwait himself first wrote satire on the medical profession about this time[59] reveal the possible extent of his share in the play, and perhaps the reason that it should have fallen into his hands. It will be observed that the important parallels between *Cornelianum Dolium* and Brathwait's known works up to and in the year of its publication, occur in the extraneous material, the dedication, the prefatory material, and the apology for the errata. We shall be safe in concluding, therefore, that he simply superintended the book through the press, and supplied it with the appropriate additions.

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[53] *The Arcadian Princesse* (1635), apology for errata, at the end of the volume; and *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* (1641), p. 417.

[54] "Cornelius Vandunk his Satyre", in *The Law of Drinking* (1617).

[55] Cf. *The Golden Fleece* (1611), dedication; *Natures Embassie* (1621), title-page; *The Arcadian Princesse* (1635), p. 233, etc.

[56] *The Law of Drinking* (1617), position 41; *Barnabees Journall* (1638), part two, title-page, etc.

[57] Cf. *The Honest Ghost* (1658), p. 318.

[58] Cf. "The Smoaking Age", part two of *The Law of Drinking* (1617), the dedication.

[59] Cf. *The English Gentleman* (1630), p. 224; *The English Gentlewoman* (1631), p. 377; *The Arcadian Princesse* (1635), pp. 129 and 162; *Two Lancashire Lovers* (1640), p. 209.

Equally demonstrative of Brathwait's intimate connection with *Cornelianum Dolium*, is its obvious influence on his subsequent satiric pieces. It has already been observed that in 1641, three years after the publication of *Cornelianum Dolium*, Brathwait used the form of quasi-drama for the first time, and thereafter employed it for all his longer satiric work. This step may well have been prompted by his admiration for Randolph's play. But the influence goes deeper: Priscilla and Crispina, figures in the scenes of comic relief in *Mercurius Britanicus* and *Regicidium*, are exactly the same type of ignorant, coarse-spoken loose woman as Pocadilla, Tubercula and Ciatica in *Cornelianum Dolium*, even to using "Hah-hah-hah" as a tag. Randolph's comic Latinizing of names about London (Clerkinwellenses, Bloomsberienses, etc.) is repeated in *Regicidium*. And in *A Comment upon Chaucer* (1665)[60] appears an English paraphrase of a burlesque "old sylvan charm" from *Cornelianum Dolium*. True, since this is in riming Latin tetrameter, it may have been added by Brathwait in the first place, especially since it seems somewhat superfluous in the scene where it appears. But in either case it proves that Brathwait had some connection with Randolph's play. Apparently Brathwait got from *Cornelianum Dolium* more than he contributed to it.

Panthalia: or the Royal Romance. A Discourse Stored with infinite variety in relation to State-Government And Passages of matchless affection gracefully interveined And presented on a Theatre of Tragical and Comical State, in a successive continuation to these Times. Faithfully and ingenuously rendred bears date 1659.[61] Facing the title-page is a portrait of Prince Charles, afterward Charles II; and at page 119 occurs under a very thin disguise a discussion of his probable restoration, which goes into such detail as to indicate that the author was closely in touch with the situation, if not actually involved in it himself.

That *Panthalia* is the work of Brathwait may be regarded as

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[60] At p. 31.

[61] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Eyre and Rivington, II. 231. Entered July 1, 1659. A manuscript note on the title-page of the British Museum copy, which seems to have been made by the original purchaser, indicates that it was bought in August.

certain. Corser[62] thinks it more like Brathwait in style than much other work assigned to him, for example *The History of Moderation;* and argues also the prefatory ascription of the piece to a suppositious Italian author, as *The Arcadian Princesse* was attributed to one Silesio and *The Honest Ghost* to Simianus. Other points of similarity to avowed work of Brathwait are, his familiar mixture of verse and prose, his riming Latin, similar in meter to *Barnabees Journall*, and the glowing panegyric on Lord Strafford,[63] whose family were patrons of Brathwait.[64] Halkett and Laing speak of the piece as assigned to Brathwait,[65] and add that the title has his distinct placing of the adjective, and two of his favorite words, "ingenuously" and "rendred". To these might be added "interveined".

The resemblance of *Panthalia* in conception and style to other political satires of Brathwait, especially *The Arcadian Princesse*, is marked. *The Arcadian Princesse* is similarly Italianate and allegorical, and like *Panthalia* suffers from iteration and from passages which carry out the allegory for its own sake, apparently without political significance. The class called Eliots who give trouble in *Panthalia* are also found in *Times Curtaine Drawne*. "The Opinion of a native Candiot touching this Royal Romance", signed Florencio Tribaccio, and "To the living memory of Castalion Pomerano, Author of this book", signed Dion. Morellio,[66] recall the fictitious biographies prefixed to *The Arcadian Princesse*.[67] Panedone, the name of a character

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[62] *Collectanea*, Part II, p. 442.

[63] The author explains of Strafford that "in many places he retein'd the name of Coriolanus", apparently having in mind his own *Mercurius Britanicus*, wherein Strafford appears as "the ghost of Coriolanus".

[64] Corser points out that a number of his arguments would apply equally well to James Howell; and there is certainly a similarity in conception between Howell's *Dendrologia* (1640) and *Panthalia*. But the allegory of *Dendrologia*, which presents historical figures in the guise of trees, is more fanciful than anything in *Panthalia*, and there is little similarity in style. Howell, moreover, had an interest in history for its own sake which is lacking in *Panthalia*.

[65] S. Halkett and J. Laing, *A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain*. Edinburgh, 1872, III, col. 1849. This book is hereafter referred to as Halkett and Laing.

The editors of the *Catalogue of the Pamphlets . . Collected by George Thomason*. London, 1908, assign *Panthalia* to Brathwait without comment.

[66] Sig. A2 and A4v.

[67] See pp. 24 ff.

in *Panthalia*, is a favorite classicism of Brathwait's, appearing as the title of the final section in *Times Curtaine Drawne*, and in the pseudonym, Philogenes Panedonius, of *Ar't asleepe Husband?* At page 114 occurs the name Muratus, which is repeated in *Regicidium;* at page 82 a reference to *Cornelianum Dolium*: "For the Fire was not yet quite out of the Furnace, nor his CORNELIAN TUB wholly removed"; at page 141 a favorite motto of Brathwait's, "Better an army of Harts with a Lyon to their leader, than an army of Lyons with a Hart to their leader."[68] Minor similarities and parallels are numerous, and there is an apology for the errata. Brathwait's authorship of *Panthalia* need no longer be considered doubtful.

Panthalia is an allegorical romance, alluding to the history of England (Candy) from the time of Elizabeth to the Restoration of Charles. The romantic portions, such as the long episode of Panthalia, the Pretty Pedlar, and her lover Acolasto, which gives the book its title, are commonplaces in the Arcadian manner, less interesting than the main theme, and indeed irrelevant to it. The earlier historical allusions, as Corser points out,[69] are chiefly to anecdotes which the historian would hesitate to record, such as the intimacy of Elizabeth and Essex, Elizabeth's treatment of Mary of Scots, James' creation of "carpet-knights", and the circumstances of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Beginning with the trial and execution of Strafford, however, the romance gives a fairly coherent account of the impeachment and death of Charles I, the outbreak of the Civil Wars, the flight of Charles II, the troubled years of the Commonwealth, the dissolving of the Long Parliament, and Cromwell's death. The point of view throughout is that of a Royalist, and the particular admirations and antagonisms are those already familiar to the student of Brathwait's work. Aside from this, there is little interpretation of character or event; but in such passages as that recording the death of Strafford, the narrative is spirited and readable, and as a whole the book, varying as it does from the

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[68] Cf. *A Survey of History* (1638), p. 246, and *The English Gentleman* (1630), p. 121, etc.

[69] *Collectanea*, Part II, pp. 443–446.

quasi-dramatic method of *Mercurius Britanicus* and *Regicidium*, is an interesting addition to the list of Brathwait's political satires.

Inasmuch as the latest event recorded in *Panthalia* is the retirement of Richard Cromwell as dictator, it is evident that the book must have been completed in May, 1659, so that parts of it are the most timely of all Brathwait's political writing. That it attracted little attention at the moment is perhaps explained by the fact that the earlier historical portions give no hint of what follows. This deficiency the author was at some pains to circumvent, by placing the contemporary sections early in the book, and also by prefixing an "Advertisement to the judicious Reader", which informs us that the manuscript was refused in fright by the first stationer to whom it was offered. But when *Panthalia* was published, in July or August of 1659[70], with Booth's uprising in preparation and with General Monk gathering power in the North, the trend of popular opinion toward monarchy must have been fully apparent. Thus the joyful account of the Restoration cannot be regarded as a feat of prophecy, though highly creditable to the loyalty of Brathwait, and commendably imaginative in its details.

The Chimneys Scuffle (1662)[71] is another anonymous political satire of which Brathwait may with practical certainty be pronounced the author. Its general similarity to his work gave rise, doubtless, to an unsupported attribution of it to him in *American Book-Prices Current*, 1919. Detailed parallelisms are easily observed: the couplet near the beginning of the satire,[72]

> Dear Mistress of the Muses, Polyhymny,
> Breath Spirit into th' Funnel of my Chimney,

employs an ingenious rime which Brathwait had used before; and the idea that the smoke of tobacco had supplanted the smoke of hospitality is a familiar one in his satiric armory.

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[70] See note 61 above.
[71] The word "scuffle" as the title of a protest or witty argument seems to have been a momentary fashion c. 1660. Cf. *The Coffee Scuffle* (1662), etc.
[72] P. 1.
[73] "The Smoaking Age", part two of *The Law of Drinking* (1617).

There is also a repetition of a phrase already used as the title of one of his satires, when he protests, "The like Smoaking Age[73] did never yet appear." The Puritan dislike of Bishops, alluded to in *Mercurius Britanicus*,[74] is again made fun of. The verses end with a quotation of which Brathwait is never tired: "The end tries all, the Evening Crowns the Day."[75] *The Chimneys Scuffle* is moreover a kind of preliminary counterblast against the "mad state" of England, and especially the North, which is dealt with more thoroughly in *Bedlamum Novum;* and one passage,[76] which begins "Within this fortnight I from Bedlam came", is repeated in essence in the later work.[77]

The special occasion of satire in *The Chimneys Scuffle* was the "late-enacted Tax" on hearths, and the abuses arising from a wrong-headed move of this kind. But this is merely the text, and Brathwait does not stick to it. Having selected his title and made a few remarks about chimneys, smoke, and the like, to justify it, he tells us that "all's out of order", and proceeds to repeat once more his flings at everything and everybody of whom he disapproves. "Cropt Prin", his ancient enemy, comes in for virulent notice. Land-holders who desert their hearths and come to court seeking favor; "Amorists of Fashion", those "Outlandish gimp-thigh'd Pantalouns"; corrupt commissioners and excise-men; Presbyterians, Separatists, Conventicles,—all are once more "whipt and stript". For, says Brathwait,[78]

> Satyrs who lay true tincture on a crime,
> Deserve more praise than humorists of the time.

The Chimneys Scuffle is only a brief, occasional satire, and its meaning is frequently obscure. But it is written with considerable spirit; and a comparison of its tone and sentiments with those of *To His Majesty* (1660) will show with what success Brathwait could at times achieve the chief end of a political satir-

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[74] See p. 78.
[75] Cf. *Raglands Niobe* (1635), sig. Bv; *The Arcadian Princesse* (1635), p. 163; *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* (1641), p. 33; and *Regicidium* (1665), the prologue, etc.
[76] P. 11.
[77] Cf. especially pp. 163 ff.
[78] P. 8. The sentiment recurs throughout his satiric works.

ist, that of walking in the middle of the road, and pleading for the good of the majority.

The satires of Brathwait make little display of impartiality; they represent avowedly the political and social bias of a gentleman, especially in their bitterness toward the Puritan, who to be sure had earned it. Their attitude toward life embodies little that is original with the author, much that he had learned to see through his reading in the classics and in the other satirists of his day. As to presentation the satires suffer chiefly from Brathwait's tendency to say something about everything and from haste and carelessness of style. And yet these works are not without wit, however it fall, from the license of the age, into coarseness; and at bottom there is a spirit of fairness toward all classes of society, much common sense, and even at times a moral purpose. It is probable, therefore, that we underestimate rather than overestimate the extent to which they were popularly read in their own time, and the influence for good which they exerted.

VI

Characters

Brathwait is the author of some fifty characters, ranging in date from 1614 to 1665. The majority of these are contained in the collections called *Whimzies* (1631) and *The Captive-Captain* (1665), but perhaps a dozen appeared separately in works of a more general nature. In form the characters adhere rather closely to the convention established by Hall, Overbury, and Earle, following Theophrastus,—that of a brief prose essay descriptive of a human type, the basis of selection being a quality, occupation, or the like. Occasionally, as in "A Tar-paulin" and several similar pieces in *The Honest Ghost* (1658), the technique of the character seems to have been carried over into verse; but examples of this are rare, and present no special problem.

Interestingly enough, Brathwait's practice of the character is consciously based upon a critical theory, which he expounds in the dedication to *Whimzies*. Primarily, as one acquainted with Theophrastus,[1] and therefore with the proper nature of the character, he deplores the loose application of the term to moral or didactic writing, and gives his own understanding of it:

> Many have been published when the ignorance of the time could scarcely render the ambiguitie of the word: as likewise in these more refined times of ours, when nothing but rarities can . . delight. But they relished more of Aphorism than Character. . . For to suite them with their approvedest and retentivest title, what else are characters but stampes or impressures, noting such an especiall place, person or office; and leaving such a mark or cognizance upon it, as the conceit may neither taste of too much lightnesse; nor the cloze of so wittie an observance leave too much bitternesse, nor the whole passage or series incline to too much dulnesse?

[1] This by implication only. Brathwait does not allude, in the *Whimzies* or elsewhere, to Theophrastus, and his conception of the character may well have been derived from Overbury. But Brathwait's intimate knowledge of Greek literature, proved by continual reference and quotation, makes it probable that he had read Theophrastus and the definition given is such as would be formulated by an admirer of the *Ethical Characters*.

At the time of which he writes, though he admits that "characterisme holds good concurrence", *i. e.* is very popular, he feels that it has degenerated, become too sensational and bizarre: "Characters in this age may be properly resembled to Squibbs or Crackers; they give a Cracke or a Flash and so dye."[2] Brathwait's characters are not notably different from those of his predecessors in choice of subject or in freedom from moralizing. But the best of them are certainly among the most readable of all his works, so that as concerned himself, his theorizing was not without fruit. And the passage as a whole, with its talk of "strong lines" and "clinchings" and other details of the writer's art, is interesting for what it reveals of the age's interest in literary craftsmanship.

Brathwait first uses the term character in his *Schollers Medley* (1614), apropos of a section which defines in abstract and moral vein "The Character of a Liberall Man".[3] From the quality of this and similar serious characters which appear from time to time in his later work,[4] we may surmise that the author had read Hall's *Characters of Vertues and Vices* (1608), especially "Of true-Nobilitie". But the realistic type of character had already appeared in *A Wife . . . Whereunto are added many witty characters* (1614), attributed by his friends to Sir Thomas Overbury; and this Brathwait found more to his liking. Three characters[5] on subjects used by Overbury are included in *A Strappado for the Diuell* (1615). Somewhat more original is "Cornelius Vandunk his Character", prefixed by Brathwait to his translation of *The Law of Drinking* (1617), a witty picture of a drunkard and braggart: "He parallels Dietolphs honour, who was worthily knighted for drinking a great health of Kostich beere." Cornelius is no soldier, for

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[2] *Whimzies*, ed. J. O. Halliwell. London, 1859, sig. A3 ff.
[3] Pp. 90–91. It is used as a rebuke to the miser.
[4] As examples, cf. "Beauty", in *Ar't asleepe Husband?* (1640); "A Gentleman" and "A Gentlewoman" in *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* (1641), and "Honour", added to the same volume in the edition of 1652.
[5] "The Honest Lawyer", "A Cashierd Courtier", and "The Courtier", all in verse.

a small army of his condition would dry whole rivers . . The height of his ambition . . is to shew a kinde of surly command to the inferior vassals of a Tap-house: where he is onely in his kingdome: . . wonderful stories Cornelius relates of his last nights encounters.

There is a reminiscence of Falstaff in "Cornelius Vandunk", and more still of the robust humor of Jonson, who had long since introduced character writing into the drama. "Cornelius" may well have owed something, for example, to Carlo Buffone, the "feast-beagle" unforgetably described in the *dramatis personae* of *Every Man out of His Humour*. "A Shrow", which occurs at the end of the *Five Senses* (1620) but was understandably omitted from a later edition, is a vigorous but unpleasant mixture of cant and tasteless humor, describing the type of talkative old woman already used by Breton and others. "The Gentleman Usher", entered for publication June 30, 1628,[6] but apparently reserved for interpolation in a later volume, *A'r't asleepe Husband?* (1640),[7] displays both observation and irony in its picture of this "Ladies Creature . . this pretty foole". The usher is a fop, and overfamiliar with his mistress; the height of his employment is to usher his lady to church, but he is fonder of play-bills than of prayer-books. He must take her to the play, make room for her at the court-masque, then drink the night away. His greatest fear is old age, which finally overtakes him; he grows unkempt and halting, loses his place, dies. "The Gentleman Usher" is the best of Brathwait's experiments in the character form, and like "Cornelius" owes more to general observation than to any previous characters on the subject.

In 1631, attracted doubtless by the "good concurrence of characterisme" attested by the appearance of six editions of Earle's *Micro-cosmographie*, Brathwait published a collection of 28 characters, under the title of *Whimzies*. This book contains not only his best characters but also some of his best work of any kind. The contents, to be sure, are very uneven in quality; and about half of the subjects are either commonplaces, such as "A Ruffian", "A Gamester", "A Wine-soaker", or "A Xantip-

[6] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, IV. 199.
[7] Pp. 161 ff.

pean" or, if unusual, like "A Sayler" or "An Apparator", are closely imitated from Overbury. But the characters on hackneyed or borrowed subjects are for the most part poor; whereas an equal number, among them the best, appear to be original with Brathwait. It is interesting to note that of the latter group several deal with country types, "A Forrester", "A Pedler", "A Piper", and the like, while another gives some picturesque details about its author's favorite haunt, the theater. The style of the *Whimzies* has more fluency and point than is usual with Brathwait; the irony is a little more finely drawn,—facts doubtless referable to the influence of Overbury.

The characters in *Whimzies* have been generally approved with pleasant words of appreciation by the commentators. Corser remarks that "they are written with much force and cleverness, evincing great shrewdness and observation of character, mixed with satire, and are highly amusing".[8] They have indeed more piquancy than many seventeenth century characters which are done with a finer art. Brathwait's insistence on having all his subjects come to a melancholy end, and the lack of variety with which he describes it, are depressing, but hardly obscure his wit, his realism, and occasionally, as in "An Hospitall-man", a human sympathy not native to character writing. Of the purely amusing characters, "A Painter" will serve as an example: "A Painter is a face-maker; and the worst in all his shop is his owne." The hostess of an inn comes to him to have a sign painted, and the question arises of what it shall be: "A Meere-maide, sayes shee, for that will sing catches to the Youths of the Parish. A Lyon, sayes he, for that's the onely Signe that he can make. And this he formes so artlessly, as it requires his expression: This is a Lion." Elsewhere there is much intimate and convincing detail of life in ale-house, street, and highroad; we see a ballad-singer, in league with thieves, singing while they snatch purses in the crowd; an exchange-man running beside a coach and crying "What do ye lacke?" or attracting a group of gallants by burlesquing the facial expression of famous people, a device still seen at the circus; a "metall-man" on his rounds,

[8] *Collectanea*, Part II, p. 387.

with his call, "Any ends of gold or silver?"; a traveling patent-medicine vendor; a piper with his monkey; a wretch being branded on the thumb. The allusions to the theater are especially interesting. The expression "a true-bred cub of Volpone" seems to have become proverbial for a trickster, a tribute to Jonson's power of portraiture; and a discontented man is likened to Shakespeare's Malvolio, "with a dejected eye, a broad-brim'd hat or'e-pentifying his discontented looke".[9] Of a gamester whose recreation is the play-house, we read:

> Hee seldome ha's time to take ayre, unlesse it be to a Play; where if his pockets will give leave, you shall see him aspire to a Box: or like the silent woman, sit demurely upon the stage. Where, at the end of every Act, . . the encurtain'd Musique sounds, to give Enter-breath to the Actors, and more grace to their Action.

We learn that a "twopennie room" for smokers was attached to theaters, and how, as in small towns today, "after the second Act, when the Doore is weakly guarded, they will make forcible entrie". It is hardly too much to say that as a whole *Whimzies* is as entertaining as any character-book of the time; and it supplies some unusual and interesting details of everyday life in Brathwait's England.

The latest characters of Brathwait, found in *The Captive-Captain* (1665), are better written and generally more workmanlike than *Whimzies;* but they lack the curious and intimate details of the human pageant which make the earlier work so readable, and much of its freshness. Like the characters of Cleveland, Flecknoe, and others, the eleven pieces in *The Captive Captain* show the drift of the type toward political satire. For example, in "A Phanatick" the confused plans of Brathwait's political opponents are ridiculed:

> A Phanatick is a State-Empyrick, who prescribes sundry Cures but effects no cure . . What an Utopian State would he shape us? Our late cry'd-down Rump would appear a rare Commonwealth unto it! . . He starts at the mere name of a King.

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[9] Halliwell's edition, at p. 51. "Suppose him then walking like a second Malevolo", etc. The passage is not in *The Shakespeare Allusion Book*, ed. John Munro. New York, 1909. It is interesting for its suggestion that Malvolio was portrayed as a Puritan.

A similar lash is applied to the pretentious office-seeker, with his "State gallantry", his "Spanish Shrug and French Cringe",[10] and to ignorant officials of the Commonwealth. For instance,

> A Countrey Commissioner is an Instrument pretending to Peace . . How demurely he stroaks his reverend Beard: and with a grave politick nod, shaking his shallow nodle, (having heard an Interogatory, which he understands not) most authentically concludes: There lies the knot of the business.

These subjects were common in Restoration characters, but Brathwait was in a position to observe them for himself, and so far as direct indebtedness goes, seems to have done so.

The chief content of *The Captive-Captain*, however, is a series of eight characters which have to do with a prison and prisoners. These make use of material found in other of his works, and common as well in Overbury, Mynshul and others at an earlier date, but with an attempt to apply it to the situation of the imprisoned Royalist. The prison is merely "a Cage of unclean Birds"; the jailer is hardhearted and venal, his wife "an intollerable Slut "who keeps them all short on air and fare and changes her clothing less often than she does her maids. "The Porter" and "The Century" are not remarkable in any way. But "The Lean Prisoner" is described as "an old In-mate in that ancient Fabrick of John a Gant", and seems to indicate that Brathwait had an actual prisoner, or at least an actual prison in mind, possibly the keep at Carlisle, in which Atkinson was lodged for a time; and "The restrained Cavaliere, With his Melancholy Fancy" might well be Brathwait himself:

> The restrained Cavaliere . . is John for the King in all parts of the Kingdom. He had a brave spirit before he was impounded; and now in his restraint he has a desire to fight; . . . and if his Genius be so happy, conjure up all the Muses to assist him in his Satyricall humor, and twist him some whip cords to lash his unconscionable flint-hearted Jaylor.

"The restrained Cavaliere" is an almost unique attempt on

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[10] "A State-Competitor", at p. 77.

Brathwait's part to turn his humor against himself and his class. In general *The Captive-Captain* is a not uninteresting adaptation of material familiar in character-writing, to unhappy experiences which its author had survived.

Less certainly associated with the name of Brathwait than *Whimzies* or *The Captive-Captain*, which though unsigned contain indubitable internal evidence of his authorship,[11] is a singular book called *A Strange Metamorphosis of Man, transformed into a Wildernesse. Deciphered in Characters* (1634). Halkett and Laing[12] assign it to Brathwait, and there is some evidence to bear them out. The printer, Harper, was employed in three of Brathwait's works from 1635 to 1641.[13] The metaphor of the pilgrim in the wilderness, with which the *Metamorphosis* begins, was in Brathwait's mind at this time, appearing in the *Anniversaries* and *The Penitent Pilgrim* (1641). There is a general similarity in conception and style to his known works, and a number of parallels: "Agathocles", a favorite classical allusion, whose story is told at least five times in Brathwait's signed pieces of this period,[14] appears; "the bells of Osney"[15] are dealt with in *A Comment upon Chaucer*;[16] the character of "Tobacco" contains the same general charges against this plant as are made in *The Smoaking Age*; and most of the animals, plants, birds, and fishes in the *Metamorphosis*, together with their qualities as given in Pliny, are found in *A Survey of History* (1638), as is also the motto of the Pike, *Fronti Nulla Fides*.[17] On the whole, however, the evidence is slight and not thoroughly convincing and the book is with hesitancy listed among Brathwait's works.

A Strange Metamorphosis of Man begins with the familiar device of allegorizing different types of men in terms of animals which they resemble. But the author's knowledge of and

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[11] See Haslewood, p. 11, note.
[12] III, col. 2501.
[13] *The Arcadian Princesse* (1635), *The Last Trumpet* (1635), and *Astraea's Teares* (1641).
[14] See *A New Spring* (1619), at sig. D; *Natures Embassie* (1621), p. 148; *A Survey of History* (1638), pp. 155, 341; and *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* (1641), passim.
[15] In "The Daw", the 26th character.
[16] *A Comment on Chaucer*, ed. C. F. E. Spurgeon. London, 1901, p. 11.
[17] *A Survey of History* (1638), p. 179.

interest in nature soon leads him to make characters of the animals themselves, which owe little either to Pliny or to the allegory but much to actual observation; an illustration is "The Squirill" who, though he is sometimes found in a cage, is prettier when he dances upon a tree, and who carries his umbrella with him. "The Stagge", too, is well done, "The Owle . . . of nightly lucubrations, fond of the massacre of mice, who wears a hood with glasses in the Spanish fashion", "The Swallow . . that little spirit of the ayre", and that "true gentleman, The Snayle". All this accords with the suggestion of Brathwait as the author, since his love of the country is frequently demonstrated elsewhere. *A Strange Metamorphosis* is an interesting departure in character-writing, and it is to be regretted that its attribution to Brathwait cannot be more conclusively supported.[18]

Brathwait's place among the character writers is once more that of the literary opportunist. As with every other type of contemporary literature, he seems to have read the character books soon after they appeared, imitated them, and published his productions after the mode became established. His earliest characters are in the abstract, moral vein of Hall; but the realistic type, satiric or purely humorous, and couched in conversational and pleasant style, was better suited to his temperament, and in imitation of these, as inaugurated by Overbury and his friends, he produced his best work. Later when political satire became fashionable in the character, he followed that fashion. It is to be noted, however, that Brathwait's character-writing has elements of originality: the addition of country types based on his own observation; the adaptation of "prison" characters to the Commonwealth treatment of Royalists; and in *A Strange Metamorphosis*, if the work be his, the use of the character to portray English birds and animals. Moreover, his style throughout remains his own. Thus in his characters, as in all his writing, he imitated the example of well-bred, upper-class writers whom he admired, but without servility.

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[18] Contemporary interest in *A Strange Metamorphosis* is evidenced by a reply to it, now lost, or perhaps never printed, entitled *The ffabulist late Metamorphosed* by "R. A. gent." Licensed June 14, 1634. *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, IV. 321.

VII

Burlesques

Burlesque may be defined as that literary *genre* which has for its purpose to render ridiculous that which is dignified and serious, by the method of distorted or exaggerated imitation. Literary burlesque, or parody, is found in Aristophanes and Lucian, and in all literatures affected by their example. But burlesque in its wider sense of a grotesquely humorous representation of life, though of equal antiquity and even greater popularity, seems to have had a notable recrudescence in Continental literature of the time of the Renaissance, chiefly, though not exclusively through the medium of the Teutonic mind. This burlesque takes many forms; its spirit is apparent in the rogue-books, in the drama, in jest-books, satires, and characters, but especially in popular tales and books of mock-etiquette, such as those attached to the figures of Owleglass and Grobian. In England the introduction of Grobianism by Dekker in his *Guls Hornebooke* (1608) and of burlesque heroes similar to Owleglass by Jonson and others, was followed by numerous imitations, among them two by Brathwait, *The Law of Drinking* (1617) and *Barnabees Journall* (1638). In them the roystering, Cavalier side of his nature, his Goliardic humor with its praise of drinking and its cynical attitude toward womankind, found a convenient medium of expression.

It is likely that Brathwait was less willing to be known as the author of his burlesques than of any other group of his writings. From them, at all events, he carefully omitted all marks which would at the time of publication identify him as their author. Probably, since they required less effort than his other work, he regarded them as purely ephemeral. But they have also, in common with their class, a tendency toward gross impropriety, unsuitable in one already known for serious and religious writing. In the volume which contains *The Law of Drinking*, however, reference is made to an acknowledged work of Brathwait's, his *Comment upon Chaucer*, which, published many years later,

gives us the necessary clue. The association of the two pieces was perhaps a natural one in Brathwait's mind, for "a Chaucer's jest" seems to have been a cant term for fornication,[1] and much, though not all of the humor in *The Law of Drinking* is of the sort thereby indicated. As to *Barnabees Journall*, it remained anonymous for nearly two centuries so far as the public was concerned, though an occasional bookseller or antiquarian recorded the rumor that Brathwait was its author.[2] Ironically enough, this piece, which he never claimed, and which appears to have met with no more than average popularity during his lifetime, was discovered long afterward by a book-seller, and was reprinted, alluded to, and imitated well down into the nineteenth century; and—finally attributed to him by Haslewood—it constitutes Brathwait's chief claim to remembrance.

A Solemne Ioviall Disputation, Theoreticke and Practicke; briefely Shadowing The Law of Drinking (1617), "Faithfully rendred according to the originall latine copie" by Multibibus, and published at "OENOZUTHOPOLIS" (i. e. Wine-beer-town) "At the Signe of Red-eyes", owes a greater debt to contemporary German pamphlets than that of imitation. In fact, it appears to be a translation of the Latin *Disputatio Inauguralis Theoretico Practico Jus Potandi Breviter adumbran. Oenozythopoli* (1617), a German version of which appeared the previous year at Leipzig, under the title *Disputation vom Sauff-Rechte Oenozythopoli Multibibi.*[3] Unfortunately, no copy of the *Disputation vom Sauff-Rechte* is available. But unless we suppose Brathwait the author of a work translated into German a year before its appearance in England, we can only suppose him its translator. Judging by the mishandling of the German quotations in *The Law of Drinking*, however, it seems likely that Brathwait did not know German, but translated either from a Leipzig edition of 1616 or from a London reprint of the following year, in Latin. It is impossible to be sure, since no Latin edition printed in Germany in 1616 has come to light, and the single known copy of the Latin

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[1] Cf. *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, ed. Spurgeon. Cambridge, 1925, III, Index, p. 18.

[2] Haslewood, p. 163.

[3] E. Weller, *Die Falschen und fingirten Druckorte.* Leipzig, 1864, p. 16.

edition of 1617[4] is unavailable. But in all probability the order of editions was as follows: (1) a Latin edition published at Leipzig in 1616 or earlier; this hypothesis is rendered probable by the parody of a dissertation, which would naturally be in Latin; (2) the known edition of 1616, in German; (3) a known reprint of (1) in London, dated 1617; (4) Brathwait's *The Law of Drinking*, 1617. Another Latin edition corresponding closely with *The Law of Drinking* appeared in 1626,[5] and a third, a very intelligent revision, in 1688.[5] The material was still current in Germany in 1675, when a new German translation appeared.[6]

The material of *The Law of Drinking* is thus seen to be that of a series of German pamphlets in which the Grobian code of mock-etiquette was imitated, with special reference to drinking, by someone acquainted with the customs of German universities. The "Law" is explained in sixty "positions" and two corollaries. The early positions take up the reasons for drinking, that it is an ancient festival of Dionysus, and that civility requires it, as also do circumstances at times, such as when it is cloudy or rainy, or when the sun is shining too brightly. Special rules coercing freshmen to drink all they can hold, are laid down. With position 9 begins a consideration of the form of drinking, which may be total or partial, continuate or discontinuate. Continuate drinking may be done (1) florically, *i. e.* at one gulp, or (2) haustically, *i. e.* in the usual manner, but without taking breath. Penalties for failure to drink properly are laid down, and provision is made for assistance to the drinker by a maid, but not an old woman, sitting next to him. Next come the rules governing healths and brotherhood drinking, and a frank discussion of some of the immediate physical results of drinking. Positions 49–58 deal with the rights of feminine companions in drinking bouts, in case of trespass or embezzlement committed

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[4] The copy is listed in *American Book Prices Current*, 1919. No copy of *Disputatio Inauguralis* is catalogued by the British Museum as of 1617; but the copy without title-page, which appears in the catalogue as of 1630 (queried), may be the edition of 1617. It spells out words which are abbreviated in the copy of 1626, and makes errors in quotation which do not appear in the 1626 edition.

[5] A copy is in the British Museum.

[6] *Jus Potandi, oder Zech-Recht durch Blasius Multibibus . . bey Pilz Paul.* Culmberg, 1675. A copy is in the British Museum.

on their persons. Positions 59–60 and the Corollaries have to do with the after-effects of drunkenness and the excuses offered by students to their parents in order to get money with which to buy drink. The humor is both broad and heavy, and the "laws" so accurately represent the traditional attitude of the German student toward drinking as a duty, that even had no record of the original survived, the German origin of the book might have been suspected.

As a translator, Brathwait cannot of course be credited with the idea of a burlesque legal dissertation, nor with the law references or the allusions to university customs. Nevertheless, he deserves praise for the translation itself, in which his legal training assisted in the reproduction of pseudo-learned references to points of law, and his native wit enabled him to supply the English slang equivalent to the slang in his text; for the interesting frontispiece by Marshall; and for certain additions, both prefatory and in the text itself. Occasional literal translations of Latin idioms remind us that it is a translation, but Brathwait sometimes supplies a cant phrase with considerable aptness; for example, *Hui eo ne aspiras?* he translates, "Are you there with your beares, sir?" Upon the question of drinking the Pope's health, he inserts a note to the effect that the original is too bitter. He explains the phrase "supernaculum" as "to a nayle."[7] He criticizes his author's Latin as to the word *pix*, *picis*, *pici*, *picem*, a merchant, which he says is obsolete. Elsewhere he adds a pun or a note as it occurs to him, and he interpolates two verses, perhaps his own, in position 23:

> For with [sic] and learning are to Angels wings,
> By which meane men have soared to mighty things.

He translates the classical quotations into his favorite couplets, and omits a certain amount of repetition and tedious legal footnotes.

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[7] Proof of a tankard drunk *gar aus* is even now, in Germany, ability to hold the remaining drop on the nail of the left thumb. For this and many interesting explanations see *The Law of Drinking, edited, with Introduction and Notes* by W. Brian Hooker with an Appendix of Legal References by Malvern Hall Tillit. New Haven, Conn., 1903, pp. 22–24.

The prefatory portion of *The Law of Drinking* is apparently original with Brathwait, and includes some recollections of his own drinking days in the vicinity of the Inns of Court, in the address "To his Mœonian Hebe, Will. Meere, his onely Pierian Pilote at the Ship in the Old Bayly", and a dedication "To Honest Ralph of Brainford", for whom, since he lacks the Latin, the translation is said to be made, the place of writing being an inn called "It cuts a Feather; in Sheere-Lane". Brathwait's own talent for burlesque and for Goliardic verse is displayed in a travesty of articles of apprenticeship, applied to a pot-boy, and dated the thirteenth of "scant-sober"; "A Carouse-Canto";[8] "Cornelius Vandunk his Character" and "His Satyre"; and "Vandunk's Foure Humours" in praise of sack, claret, "Peter-see-me"[9] and Rhenish. The introduction closes with a reflection "Upon this Impression in the Vacation" which refers apparently to some difficulty with a stationer near the Inns of Court, about the publication of the book. From the badness of the printing, we may surmise that the stationer was only half-persuaded in the end.

A modern editor of *The Law of Drinking* finds it "interesting in two ways: First, as a side-light on the manners, and especially the college life of the time. Second, for its delightful serio-comic humor, which lapse of years has left undimmed, and which the occasional coarseness of the book cannot spoil." He adds that "the burlesque character of the book—its humor as distinguished from wit, and its grave turning of law principles and maxims to absurd results—make it a prototype of a much later development in humorous literature—the burlesque on a serious style which over a century later culminated in *The Rape of the Lock*."[10] But surely this praise, as well as that lavished by the same editor on the descriptions of student life, belongs to the anonymous author of the *Disputatio Inauguralis;* and the interest of *The Law of Drinking* must consist largely in the intimate relation between German and English pamphlets of the seventeenth century, implied by its publication.

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[8] Quoted in *Wit's Recreations*, 1640. See *Musarum Deliciae*, ed. Hotten. London, n. d., II. 298.

[9] A kind of Spanish wine (*NED*).

[10] Hooker, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. 24 ff.

Although *The Law of Drinking* did not share the later popularity of its Latin and German originals, perhaps because its contents were of a sort better left untranslated, it exercised some influence on Brathwait's later writing. In *Times Curtaine Drawne* (1621)[11] we find a narrative called "Ebrius Experiens; or The Drunkards humour", which, though it is described in the margin as "Tassoes Apollogie transcribed, wherein a Drunkards Humour is to life described", turns out to be an experience, supposedly the author's own, but remarkably like some of those adumbrated in *The Law of Drinking*. Probably the *Solemne Ioviall Disputation* suggested additions in *Barnabees Journall*, in which appears the motto *Foecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?*,[12] found in the earlier publication.[13]

Barnabees Journall (1638) is Brathwait's most notorious and popular book. It is an account in rimed Latin verse, with an English translation identical in form, of four journeys between Kendal and London, made by a bibulous and amorous traveler, Faustulus, who impersonates "drunken Barnaby", a proverbial tippler in an old song.[14] Sitting comfortably in a tavern at the end of a journey, Faustulus invites his friend Mirtilus to listen over a glass of wine to his adventures and misadventures and to details of interest concerning the towns and countryside through which he has passed:

> But attend me, and partake it,
> What I loved, what I hated,
> Bridges, fountaines, mountaines, valleis,
> Cauls, cells, hillocks, high-wayes, shallows,
> Paths, towns, villages, and trenches,
> Chast-choice-chary-merry wenches.[15]

The routes of the journeys are different in each case, but all are rather erratic, Barnaby evidently being influenced in the matter

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[11] Sig. M2.
[12] On the title-page of the second part.
[13] *The Law of Drinking* (1617), position 41.
[14] "The old catch . . of Whoop Barnaby", alluded to by Jonson in *The New Inne*, IV, 1. See Haslewood, Notes, "On the Title".
[15] Haslewood, "Journall", the second part, stanza 3.

of direction by his potations. The first journey, from London to Kendal, takes us through Banbury and Oxford, thence to Leicester, Nottingham, Doncaster, Wakefield and ends at Staveley, where Brathwait lived. The second is from Kendal by way of Lancaster, Newcastle, Coventry, and Stratford, and brings the hero to London, where after trying "the Axe in Alder-Bury", "the Rose in Holborne", and "the Griphin in the Old Bayly" he finally lodges at "the Three Cranes".[16] The third route, northward once more, is through Cambridge, Stamford, and York, while on the fourth and last journey Faustulus says farewell to all the towns on all the routes, and indicates that he means to settle down as a drover at Kendal.

In some prefatory verses "Upon this Worke", Brathwait informs us that the *Journall* was written in haste, when he was quite young.

> This three dayes taske was once imposed me,
> In the first Spring of my minoritie;
> No edge of Razer then had toucht my chin,
> Nor downy shade approach'd my supple Skin;
> I knew not th' postures of this Indian vapor,[17]
> Nor made my Sacrifice unto my Taper;
> I'd ne're seene any Curtaine nor partition,
> Which beget worke for Surgeon and Physician;[18]
> I was a Novice in the Schoole of Sin,
> Nor yet did taste, what others dived in.

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[16] H. B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*. London, 1891, gives information as to some of these inns. There seems to have been no section of London called Alder-Bury; but the Latin version reads "Aldermanni-Bury", so that Aldermanbury, a district off Cheapside is clearly indicated. But "the Axe" was in Westminster. (Wheatley, p. 85). The Rose nearest to Holborne was "at the corner of Thanet Place, without Temple Bar". (P. 172). Wheatley has no record of an inn called the Griphin; but perhaps "the Black Spread Eagle" in the Old Bailey is what Barnaby meant. (Wheatley, p. 612). As to the Three Cranes, Haslewood in his Notes explains that it was in the Vintry. But there were several inns with this sign. Perhaps the one mentioned by Wheatley (P. 378), in the Old Bailey, was more likely to have been Barnaby's lodging place. It must be borne in mind that more than one inn may have had each of these signs, and also that the hero of the *Journall* was not in a condition to remember exactly where he had been.

[17] *I. e.*, tobacco.

[18] Hazlitt, in his Notes, adduces a parallel from *A Strappado for the Diuell*, "To Mounsieur Bacchus", Ebsworth's edition, p. 7.

Taken literally, this statement is somewhat surprising, since parts of the *Journall* are evidently of later date than is here implied. There is, of course, considerable latitude in the phrase "the first Spring of my minoritie". If, however, it signifies that the author was, let us say, twenty or twenty-one, the original draft of the poem must be dated 1608 or 1609, and certain allusions to events of 1617 and 1634[19] appear as later interpolations. In this view, a reference in part 2[20] to Barnaby's attendance, in London, at the "Summer quarter" would coincide chronologically with Brathwait's matriculation at the Inns of Court, in May, 1609,[21] thus lending confirmation to that date as marking the inception of the *Journall*. Possibly, however, the earliness of the work is exaggerated by Brathwait in order to excuse its faults; at best, his statement can only refer to a somewhat briefer draft of the piece than that published in 1638. On the other hand, there is much in the material and spirit of the *Journall* to warrant the acceptance of an earlier date.

In this connection an interesting conjecture arises. In one of the autobiographical portions of *A Spirituall Spicerie* (1638), Brathwait informs us that at the end of his Oxford career he "received for a task *Terrae Filius*", and adds that "his exercise exhibited such signs of proficiency that he received considerable encouragement to pursue his studies."[22] The office of Terrae Filius of which he speaks so gravely, however, was of exactly the sort which might have led to a burlesque "exercise" such as *Barnabees Journall*. In the Oxford of that day, the Terrae Filius was "an orator privileged to make humorous and satirical

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. . . . Ile expresse
What motiues there be of licentiousnesse,
Within thy brothel closures, and with-all
Complaine of thy partitions, how the fall
Of many a simple Virgine (though shee's loath,
To do't poore-wench) coms from a painted cloath, etc.

[19] See p. 108–9, and note 32 below.

[20] Stanza 42. "Where I lodge [*i. e.* at the Three Cranes] and am no starter | Till I see the Summer quarter;" etc.

[21] See p. 20.

[22] See p. 17.

strictures in a speech at the public 'act'."[23] A recent historian of the university describes Terrae Filius thus: "Humor crept into the ancient ceremonial [the presentation of candidates for degrees]. The Terrae Filii, appointed by the Proctors to take part in Inceptors' disputations at the Vesperiae and the Comitia, delighted their contemporaries with solemn fooling . . ."[24] And Anthony a Wood notes in his diary a "*Terrae Filius* of Trinity college [who] appeared and spoke a speech full of obsenity and prophaness".[25] It seems at least possible that "this three dayes taske" was in fact the "task *Terrae Filius*". Brathwait's interest in Latin might well have led him to take the title *Terrae Filius* literally, and write, as "a son of the country", a poem about the country which he saw on his journeys.[26] Curiously enough, a nineteenth century imitation of the *Journall* bears the legend "Rendered from the Latin by Silvœ Filius", a circumstance which causes us to wonder whether the author of the imitation had arrived independently at our conjecture. If the *Journall* was begun while Brathwait was at Oxford, that would place its inception in 1607, a date more apt than 1609 to have been described as "the first Spring of my minoritye". At all events, the prefatory verses establish the *Journall* in some form as its author's earliest known work, though added to at various later times, and not published for possibly thirty years. On the other hand, the impression of maturity given by the poem as we have it, can only be explained by Brathwait's having carefully reworked his excellent Latin verses and included material from his later experience.

The character of the hero of *Barnabees Journall* is supplied

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[23] *N E D.* The illustrations of the word date from 1590 to 1882. Among them is an interesting quotation from the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1882, p. 389, concerning "a scurrilous harangue . . . for the deliverance of which, in the character of Terrae-Filius, one of his [Swift's] College acquaintances narrowly escaped expulsion".

[24] C. E. Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford.* London, 1924, I. 131.

[25] *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, Oxford. 1848, p. 185.

[26] A legitimate objection to this idea lies in the fact that the *Journall*, as we have it, contains no marks of an Oxford origin, such as the local hits which the Terrae Filius would be likely to include. But if allusions to later events were added, earlier ones could conceivably have been omitted, as less interesting to the public.

with a few touches of Brathwait's own biography. Aside from reminding us that the author lived at Kendal, and that he made many journeys between it and London, the poem alludes to Nesham,[27] the home of Brathwait's first wife, as "Graced by a lovely Lady"; and to Darlington, near Hurworth, the place of his first marriage, where, says Barnaby:[28]

> . . . at last I was espoused;
> Marriage feast and all prepared,
> Not a fig for th' world I cared.

Oxford and Cambridge are briefly dismissed, but the purpose of the journey to London is Barnaby's attendance at the "Summer quarter", presumably at the Inns of Court.[29]

For the other elements in the character of the hero, and for some of his adventures, Brathwait is doubtless indebted in a general way to any number of Goliardic pamphlets of the time, to rogue-books, jest-books such as *Howleglass*, *Scoggins Jests*, and *The Jests of George Peele*, and to the cony-catching books. It is to be noted, however, that Barnaby is no rogue or trickster, but a young country-gentleman sowing his wild oats in London and on his travels. He eats little and drinks much; he pauses to inspect a labyrinth or to dally with an accessible hostess; he quaffs a glass with a dozen mistresses, makes many "naked compacts", is thrown downstairs by an enraged husband, dances, drunk, around a Maypole at dawn, arrives at last among his boon companions once more,—but all in the spirit of care-free good-fellowship which is his principal charm. His part in the rogueries of the road is that of spectator only, and he cannot be properly described as a "vagabond".[30]

As to the device of a burlesque journey, a recent writer has pointed out that pamphlets employing it, often under pretence of a wager, constitute a small but interesting group within the great mass of popular literature of the day exploiting the "city man's" point of view on the provinces. An early example,

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[27] The third part, stanza 62.
[28] The third part, stanza 63.
[29] The second part, stanza 42.
[30] See the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV. 412.

to which Brathwaite himself refers, is *Kemp's nine days wonder* (1600). Several later specimens are the work of Taylor, the Water Poet, such as *The Pennyles Pilgrimage . . from London to Edenborough* (1618), *A Very Merry Wherry-Ferry-Voyage* (1622) and *A Dogge of Warre, or, the Travels of a Drunkard* (1630), which is the more like the *Journall* in that it is mostly verse. There is some reason to believe that Brathwait knew Taylor, and every reason to suppose that he had read Taylor's books, so that if Brathwait's work was later, inspiration of the *Journall* may have come in part from this source.[31] On the other hand, if we accept Brathwait's statement as to its early origin, his poem may well lay claim to a greater measure of originality. As a matter of fact, in its form and in the character of the hero the *Journall* bears little specific resemblance to the works mentioned, and its indebtedness for the idea of a burlesque itinerary is probably of a more general sort. For example, Brathwait knew Camden's *Brittania* thoroughly, and quotes from it in the *Journal*. He is fond elsewhere of ridiculing the tales told by travelers. And he knew Drayton, and may have had the *Polyolbion* a little in mind. But Faustulus, the hero, and many of his escapades seem to be of Brathwait's own creation. And it is to be remembered that he made the actual journeys many times himself.

Certainly no small measure of credit is due Brathwait for the observation of manners in the *Journall* and for the mention of traditional landmarks, stories, and jests connected with various towns—material not elsewhere recorded, and full of interest. The bears at Barnett, the plague at Wansforth-brigs, where "Lord Have Mercy on Me" was written above the portals, the fat eels bred at Witham, the traveling players, are real enough. But the liveliest stanzas are those in which Barnaby records,

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[31] Another possible model is *The Tincker of Turvey his Merry Pastime in Passing from Billingsgate to Gravesend* (1630) to which Brathwait alludes in *Whimzies*. See the preface to Halliwell's edition of *Whimzies*, Introduction, passim. Lee, in *D N B*, article on Richard Corbet, suggests that Corbet's *Iter Boreale* may have inspired the *Journall*. It is, of course, a possibility, since we do not know the date of composition of either work. But it is difficult to feel that Barnaby owes much to such comparatively staid and serious productions as Corbet's, or the Rev. Richard James' *Iter Lancastrense* (1636).

as though he himself had observed it, a "town" joke, an anecdote associated with a place by common report. For example, Banbury is the town where a Puritan hanged his cat for killing a mouse on the Sabbath; Barnaby sees it happen. He blows the "cuckold's horn" at Highgate; sees near Stonegatehole an attorney stripped of his clothes and mistakes him for a knight in armor, as an old story demanded; suffers from the proverbial beggars at Stamford; sees a piper at York who returns to life after being hanged;[32] he meets Robin Hood, Scarlet and Little John in Sherwood; passes the time of day with George à Greene at Wakefield; discovers the people of Grantham preparing to wrap their steeple in paper to send it to St. Paul's;[33] watches cony-catchers as they play a well-known trick at Hodsdon. In respect of these ancient and curious allusions, the book is of unparalleled interest.

Perhaps the chief attraction of *Barnabees Journall*, however, is its facile and rollicking style, especially in the Latin version. The meter is four-stress trochaic, riming in couplets, and grouped into six-line stanzas. The Latin adheres accurately to the meter, though not without damage to the classical quantities; the rimes are remarkably exact, and the phraseology adroit. It has been praised, indeed, in an article ascribed to Southey[34] as one of the earliest and best pieces of rimed Latin known: "It was reserved for famous Barnaby to employ the barbarous ornament of rhyme so as to give thereby point and character to good latinity." And a recent writer calls the book" a triumph of easy, rhythmic verse". The English version is identical in meter, but careless. The verses limp at times, and far-fetched rimes are resorted to. Nonetheless it preserves the spirit of the piece more successfully than a scholarly translation could have done. Because of the manifest superiority of the Latin verse, it has been argued that "Barnaby [had] no share in the composition of the English". But this is a mistake. Not only does the English version frequently translate the conno-

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[32] Told in Gent's *History of York*, 1730, p. 223, as an actual occurrence of the year 1634. See Haslewood, p. 152.

[33] This anecdote also appears in *The Arcadian Princesse* (1635) at p. 203.

[34] *Quarterly Review*, XVIII. 32, quoted in Haslewood, p. 141, note.

tation rather than the meaning of the Latin, as no one save the author himself could have done successfully, but it has many marks of his style. A good example is the trick of long, hyphenated adjectives, as in "Chast-choice-chary-merry wenches", which is paralleled many times in Brathwait's avowed work.

The vicissitudes of the volume itself make an interesting story. *A Booke called Barnabae Itinerarium or Barnabee's Journal* was licensed to "Master Haviland" June 7, 1638.[35] It appeared over the pseudonym of Corymbaeus, and was undated. It was not reprinted until 1716, when a bookseller discovered it among "a parcel of old books" brought in for him to purchase, read and liked it, and published it under the title of *Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys to the North of England.* This bookseller also included a preface, in which he deduces, from internal evidence, that the author's name was Barnaby Harrington, and that he was a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford. During the next century and a half, fourteen reprints of the book appeared, the last being in 1876. In 1818 Haslewood made public his attribution of the *Journall* to Brathwait, together with the first reprint of the rare 1638 edition, and voluminous notes explaining many of the local and historical allusions.

As often happens, the book destined for so much popularity in a later age seems to have won less notice in its own. A piece called *Barnabees Will or his Merry Legacies* was licensed October 7, 1639,[36] but is now unknown. *Barnabies Summons: or Paie your Groat in the Morning* was published without place or date, though an early manuscript note in the British Museum copy contains the date 1652. It is little more than a leaflet, and is similar in its extravagant burlesque to the prefatory material added by Brathwait to *The Law of Drinking.* Since the "summons" purports to have been issued in Cumberland, which is in Brathwait's neighborhood, there is a strong probability that the imitation was his own. Occasional examples in which the

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[35] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, IV. 422.
[36] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, IV. 482.

Journall influenced other itineraries and even books of local history, are carefully documented by Haslewood.[37]

After the reprint of 1716, however, the successive editions give ample proof of the *Journall's* popularity. And as late as 1856 an imitation of it appeared, called *A Journey to Little Gidding*, by Barnaby Junior. This announces itself as "From Drunken Barnaby's Journey, About the year 1640", and is an excellent likeness of its original, in Latin and English. It includes "A Fragment of a Journey, not yet Published. The Author Barnaby, Junior, (The Sober.) Rendered from the Latin by Silvœ Filius". The *Journall* can also claim the honor of having supplied our literature with one famous quotation, viz. the lines about the Puritan and his cat:[38]

> To Banbery came I, O prophane one!
> Where I saw a Puritane-one,
> Hanging of his Cat on Monday,
> For killing of a Mouse on Sonday.

Haslewood[39] shows that this story, which had been previously published by Brathwait in his *Strappado for the Diuell*, was repeated in many other works, made the subject of songs, and as late as 1795 was credited to the *Journall* in a parliamentary debate.

Barnabees Journall is a thoroughly readable book, and the present writer has talked with more than one admirer of it in England and America. That a work so full of local reference should have won continued popularity outside its own country is a proof of its charm. The explanation lies in the picturesqueness of its material and in the good-nature of its rakish hero,

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[37] But Hazlitt's statement in his preface to Haslewood that the *Journall* was "the prototype of other and very inferior productions by Masters [sic], Corbet, and others", seems hasty. Richard Corbet, the author of *Iter Boreale*, died in 1636, three years before the publication of the *Journall;* and there is no evidence that he saw it in manuscript. The *Iter Boreale* (1675) of Thomas Master, who was, like Corbet, a divine, seems by its title more like Corbet's work than like the *Journall.*

[38] The first part, stanza 4.

[39] Haslewood, Notes. Some additional occurrences of the story are noted in *Modern Philology*, XXIII. 2.

but especially in its easy, rapid narrative verse. Mr. Brian Hooker, himself a poet, has this to say of it: "A picaresque and rather scurrilous account, in doggerel verses of Latin and English, of the wanderings and observations of a mythical tippler in the south of England. . . It is by this work that Brathwait is best known, although it is far from being his best."[40] With this opinion we must necessarily disagree. The Latin of the *Journall* is above the level of doggerel; and as Brathwait's closest approach to coherent, artistic writing, it is his chief claim on the attention of the reading public. Hazlitt pronounces it "a genuine piece of literature, and . . indeed . . *sui generis*",[41] and an earlier editor, influenced doubtless by the opinion of his time, pays the following tribute: "Barnaby . . whoever he was, is entitled to the kindness of the world, for the entertainment he affords. His humour, his gaiety, and his learning, give him no mean rank among authors".[42]

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[40] *The Law of Drinking*, ed. Hooker, Introduction, p. 16.

[41] Hazlitt, "Preface".

[42] *Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys to the North of England.* London, 1805. The "Advertisement". In Halkett and Laing, I, col. 707, this essay is ascribed to Archibald Murray.

VIII

Verse

Some twenty of Brathwait's volumes are in verse, and in them, together with the verse included with his prose, practically all our divisions of his work are represented. Much of his satire is in a kind of five-stress iambic rimed couplet that marks him as belonging to "the tribe of Ben" and as thus looking forward to Dryden and Pope.[1] A few of his characters are in meter, while *Barnabees Journall*, his best known work, is a burlesque in verse. But these groups are elsewhere discussed. The purpose of the present section is primarily to treat of those works in which Brathwait, following the traditions of the previous age, wrote sonnets, pastoral lyrics, eclogues, and versified tales. Naturally most of these productions appeared during the first ten years of his writing career, while he was young and still ambitious of addressing his age as a poet. He wrote also didactic, religious, and occasional verse in quantity sufficient to warrant a separate discussion at this point.

Brathwait's attempts at the sonnet are chiefly contained in the third section of *The Golden Fleece* (1611), his first published work, under the title "Sonnets or Madrigals with the Art of Poesie annexed thereunto by the same Author".[2] After the manner of the time the terms sonnet and madrigal are loosely employed, here chiefly for a group of two or more six-line stanzas riming familiarly alternated and ending in a couplet. The verse is fairly regular and the rimes are seldom far-fetched. The work averages intellectually with the later minor sonneteers and, in all probability, has an equally slight basis in any real feeling. To say that Brathwait overworks the classical allusion is to say that he wore the literary doublet and hose, the laces and falling

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[1] See F. E. Schelling, *Ben Jonson and the Classical School* (reprinted for *Publications of the University of Pennsylvania* from *PMLA*, XIII, no. 2), p. 18.

[2] No known copy of *The Golden Fleece* contains "The Art of Poesie", and the probability is that it was never published. The book as we have it ends with an even gathering, at G8, and the dedication, which discusses the contents, contains no mention of the essay.

ruffs of the dress of the time. To have been otherwise attired would have been to be ill-dressed; and Brathwait was always in fashion. Yet conventional as they are, and devoid of poetic feeling and intellectual subtlety, the sonnets are not contemptible. Their worst fault is occasional padded lines; their virtue a certain naturalness and manliness.

As to content, the sonnets form a sequence of a somewhat unusual kind. For example, the second begins with 7 stanzas spoken alternately by a woman and a man. Stanzas 8 to 14 seem to be in the person of a second man who addresses the first, while the remainder represent the lover's reflections on the whole affair. In spirit the love-verse belongs to the seventeenth century; the lover is by turns cynical and discourteous, melancholy in the strain of "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may", and quite stern, as when he warns her thus:

> Doest thou trick up that vessel made of earth
> For to allure fond men unto thy will?
> I tell the beauty, it is little worth
> When death shall tinckle out her passing bell.

Other love-verse akin in spirit to the "Sonnets and Madrigals" is found in the poems to Eliza and Dorinda, which conclude *The Poets Willow* (1614), in *Times Curtaine Drawne* (1621)[3] and *Natures Embassie* (1621),[4] but is frequently weighted down with satire and a somewhat precious display of erudition, as in the learned discussion of Roman marriage customs in *The Poets Willow*.[5] Interesting for its meter is "The pensive thoughts of Gastilio, in Sapphychs", in the same volume:[6]

> Rouze up thy spirit, (creature most inhumane)
> Fix thy contentment on Elizaes beauty,
> To which the wood gods tied are in duety,
> Shame fall a coward, etc.

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[3] Sig. N5 ff.
[4] Especially "Omphale". See *Natures Embassie*. Boston, Lincolnshire, 1877, pp. 265–284.
[5] P. 56.
[6] P. 68.

"A Grief", from *Times Curtaine Drawne*[7] begins as an imitation of the numerous popular sonnets on sleep:

> Care-charming sleepe, thou sonne of sable Night,
> That cheares our drowping spirits with delight;
> Making us forget care, as if kept under
> By some sweete spell, or some Lethean slumber, etc.

but soon transforms itself into a meditation upon the faithlessness of women, the power of sin, and the inevitability of death. Considerably more lyrical is "An Elegiack Sonnet",[8] which is in trochaic octosyllables, a meter unusual with Brathwait and rather pleasing:

> . . . . . .
> If I onely had beene hee,
> That had stood so farre aloofe,
> Or had beene such Armour proofe,
> Dide I had not as you see,
> Shot by Womans Iealousie, etc.

Still another metrical experiment is the imitation of Wither's "Careo nec curo", with its familiar formula and tripping rhythm:[9]

> Should I sorrow to behold
> Nought so much admir'd as gold,
> Or looke foule that such a Swad
> Should gaine her I would haue had,
> Or bemone (but all in vaine)
> What I cannot get againe,
> Or looke wan that others store
> Through iniustice makes me poore! etc.

though this again shades off into satire, as does "Omphale", from *Natures Embassie.*

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[7] Sig. A3.
[8] Sig. N8.
[9] Sig. I6.

More numerous and far more successful than Brathwait's love verses are his lyrics of rural scenes, found in the "Odes: or, Philomels Teares"[10] and elsewhere. Many of these, like "The Nightingall" and "The Lapwing" are in the pastoral vein, and based upon the classics. But Brathwait is a lover of the English countryside, its creatures and its flowers, and some of his best lyrics are those in which he sings of what he knows. "The Swallow", a chatterer and a summer-friend, is addressed in facile and spirited verse, with something of that equality and kinship which Burns feels for the field-mouse; while in "The Fall of the Leafe"[11] Brathwait is certainly writing of familiar natural objects with that realism commonly said to have entered English poetry with Lady Winchelsea and Thomson. We see the shepherd, his sheep buried in the snow; the hay-cocks wasted after the winter; the webster and the glass-maker at their tasks; the lady passing in her coach.

Of flowers, too, Brathwait writes not only conventionally but realistically as well, as witness the following from the first of his *Shepheards Tales* (1621):[12]

> The warbling Goldfinch on the dangling spray,
> Sent out harmonious Musicke euery day;
> The prettie speckled Violet on the Banke
> With Pinke and Rose-bud placed in their ranke;
> Where chafed Violets did so fresh appeare,
> As they foretold the Spring-time now drew neare;
> Whose borders were with various colours dy'd,
> And Prim-rose bankes with odours beautifi'd;
> Where Cornell trees were planted in great store,
> Whose checkerd berries beautifi'd the shore.

And in *The Fatall Nuptiall* (1636) he has been credited with what is "probably the earliest picturesque description of the Lake District by more than one hundred years", thus meriting the

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[10] *Natures Embassie*, reprint of 1877, pp. 289–312.
[11] "Ode 7", p. 301.
[12] *Natures Embassie*, reprint of 1877, at p. 188.

interesting title of the "first of the Lake Poets".[13] It is but fair to say that the descriptive touches are very slight ones, and that they are fewer in the verse of the *Fatall Nuptiall* than in the prose preamble, in which the passage beginning "The place . . was that famous and renowned Mere of Windermere . . eminent and generously knowne . . for those windy and labyrinthian mazes, with those curiously shaded, beauteously tufted, naturally fortifide, and impregnably seated Ilands in every part of the Mere interveined", expresses better than any of the poetical fragments in which it is echoed, the writer's sense of the natural background. Nonetheless, the touches are genuine ones, and prove conclusively that Brathwait wrote of nature with his "eye on the object", a century before Shakespeare's practice in this respect came again into vogue.

An even more intimate and homely realism pervades Brathwait's retelling of classical tales, such as that of Narcissus in *The Golden Fleece*[14] and of Pyramus and Thysbe in *A Strappado for the Diuell*,[15] and especially his pastoral narratives. The first of these, *The Poets Willow* (1614), is as the title implies a small collection of pastoral poetry in mournful vein. It discloses mainly the conventional imagery of its species. The prevailing stanza is a somewhat lengthy modification of that of the *Faerie Queene*, in which another rime on *b* and a couplet *dd* replace the alexandrine (*ababbccbbdd*). As previously explained[16] it contains references and characters which seem to be autobiographical, but aside from that, is uninteresting because of its immaturity. "The Wooer"[17] and "An Eglogue betweene Billie and Iockie called the Mushrome"[18] from *A Strappado for the Diuell* are brief experiments in the pastoral, the latter being interesting as

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[13] W. G. Collingwood, *The Fatall Nuptiall*. Kendal, 1913, pp. 147 and 158 (reprinted from *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions*, New Series, XI. 147–158).

[14] "Narcissus Change", the second part of the volume.

[15] "Love's Labyrinth". Ebsworth's edition, pp. 238–316. For Brathwait's possible indebtedness to Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, in this and similar narratives, see *Modern Language Notes*, XLII. 215. The resemblances seem more fancied than exact.

[16] See p. 28 and p. 31.

[17] *A Strappado for the Diuell*, Ebsworth's edition, pp. 87–98.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 129–135.

Brathwait's first use of Northern dialect. With these belongs the brief and somewhat improper pastoral, "Bessie Bell", in Latin and English, which appears at the end of *Barnabee's Journall.* But the best of his eclogues are to be found in the six *Shepheards Tales*, homespun pastorals which are rich in country color.

Though Brathwait had read and praised both Browne and Wither,[19] his eclogues have little resemblance to theirs, beyond the ordinary conventions of pastoral verse. Brathwait himself has something of the love of place and of scenery which Browne displays, but does not attempt to imitate Browne's lyricism. *The Shepheards Tales* are perhaps a little closer in kind to Wither's *Shepherd's Hunting*, because of their possible allegorical significance. Brathwait had already imitated Wither in satire, and it is likely that he was influenced by him in the pastoral as well; but the resemblance is only a superficial one, since Brathwait is here intent on telling six stories which illustrate different types of love-affair, and at the same time have covert allusions to the actual stories of himself and his friends. Technis, who bears marks of identification[20] with Brathwait himself, is jilted in favor of a richer suitor; Dorycles' wooing ends in a fight with his rival, who brings a gang of bullies to beat him; Dymnus is the victim of a disloyal wench who, having enjoined upon him three years of silence, marries another in the meantime; Corydon's happiness is prevented by his sweetheart's gouty father, Sapphus' betrothed gives birth to a child on their wedding day, Linus' proves a wanton and a devotee of fashion. The *Tales* end with the six dancing at a country wedding, as told in a ballad full of "go", and containing fascinating references to some old songs:

. . . . . .

I am sure thou there shalt find,
Measures store to please thy mind;
Roundelayes,
Irish-hayes,

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[19] *Ibid.*, "Upon the Poettasters of Britannie", p. 23.

[20] Technis goes to a university, and later is forced by his father to study law. His father dies, however, and he returns to the country. See *Natures Embassie*, reprint of 1877, p. 180.

Cogs and rongs and Peggie Ramsie,
Spaniletto,
The Venetto,
Iohn come kisse me, Wilson's fancie.[21]

The verse of the *Shepheards Tales* is couplets, and is careful and workmanlike, but little more than pedestrian. But the narrative is interrupted occasionally with songs which are amongs Brathwait's most pleasing efforts in light verse, and have been rightly praised by Brydges.[22] Dorycles is thus consoled:

The fairest faire that euer breath'd ayre,
Feeding her Lambkins on this Plaine;
To whom though many did repaire,
I was esteem'd her dearest Swaine.
To me she vow'd, which vow she broke,
That she would fancie me or none,
But since she has her Swaine forsooke,
I'le take me to a truer one, etc.

and the song which concludes Dymnus' lament, conventional as it is, has a pleasant meter and sentiment:

Cor. Here we rest upon these rocks;
Dym. Round with shadie Iuy wreath'd;
Dor. Ioying in our woolly flocks;
Tech. On these Mountaines freely breath'd;
Sap. Where though clad in russet frocks,
Lin. Here we sport where we are heath'd;
All. Our only care to see our Pastures streath'd,[23] etc.

Though much of the imagery of the *Shepheards Tales* is in the expected classical habit of the day, they convey by frequent touches a sense of the Westmorland countryside which Brath-

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[21] See Chappell's *Ancient English Music*, ed. Wooldridge. New York, 1893, I. 248 and I. 268. Chappell prints the tunes of "Peggie Ramsie" and "Iohn come kisse me" but is unable to identify the other songs. The entire ballad, "The Shephards Holy Day", was reprinted in *Wit's Recreations*, 1640. See *Musarum Deliciæ*, ed. Hotten. London, n. d., II. 368–372.

[22] Quoted in *Natures Embassie*, reprint of 1877, Memoir, p. xxii.

[23] I have been unable to identify this word.

wait knew, its characters, scenes, and customs. The lines already quoted will serve to illustrate their descriptions of nature. We see also the country dances, with a piper on the green and "Crowd the fidler" indoors, when Technis "winnes the Legge three yeeres together"; the games, as when

> . . . upon a night,
> A Moone-light night, when Moone and starres shine bright,
> . . . . . .
> We past that night in making purposes,[24]
> Singing of catches, with such knowne delights
> As young folke use to passe ore winter nights.

the troth-plight, the offering of groom's-men, and "such poore simple sports as wenches use",

> . . their wakes, shroues, wassel-cups, or tides,
> Or Whitson-ales, or where the country brides
> Chuse out their bride-maids, as the custome is, etc.

The flocks in the *Tales* are more troublesome than the fleecy, gamboling ones of the pastoral, for they develop "scab, fought, the rot or any kind of murren"; throughout, native English words of place, such as croft, downs, and Teese, are joined with more euphonious names from the vales of Arcady.

Turning to Brathwait's religious verse, we find it to be less in quantity than might be expected from the amount of his prose in similar vein. It consists of but two volumes, *The Golden Fleece* (1611), and *Remains after Death* (1619), with a few poems in other works. In general it may be said that Brathwait shows himself truly devout, yet unlike many other devotional poets, Herbert for example, in that he lacks any ecclesiastical bias. He indulges frequently and at great length in moral admonition, illustrating it with equal facility by quotation from the classics, the church fathers, and the Bible. The best of his verse falls short of the real spirituality which at times he struggles

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[24] A game involving questions and answers. (*NED*).

to express, but he is occasionally successful on the lower plane of solemn reflection upon sin and the brevity of man's life.

The Golden Fleece (1611), his first published work, is religious in tone but based, as the title indicates, on classical myth. It is a youthful production, and somewhat formless. After an irrelevant preliminary satire upon "rude poets" of the time, he begins to exhort his reader to win

> . . . . . that prize which will procure soules peace,
> Unto thy minds content, heav'ns Golden Fleece.

As the exhortation proceeds, with alternating rhapsody and admonition, it becomes apparent that no further allegory is intended. At the end the poet simply says, "The prize is gained,"

> The Golden Fleece, the subiect of my verse;
> The rarest Motto on a dead man's herse.

Occasionally, as in stanza 31, a bit of homely, real metaphor reflects the country scenes which Brathwait knew and loved:

> The lowest Tamricke is the saf'st from Hail.

But this is rare. For the most part *The Golden Fleece* has the same qualities as his religious prose. The imagery, both classical and Biblical, is trite; the verse maintains a fair level of metrical accuracy and true rime, but does little more.

Resembling *The Golden Fleece* in spirit, but more successful artistically, are Brathwait's lyrics of serious meditation, of which two outstanding examples may be quoted. The first of these, "Upon the Life of Man",[25] from *Remains after Death* (1618), is as finished and unified as any of Brathwait's verse:

> What is our life? A play of passion.
> Our mirth? the musicke of division;
> Our mothers wombes the tyring houses be,

[25] At the end of "The Prodigall's Glasse".

To decke us up for Time's short Tragedie;
The World's the stage, Heaven the spectator is
To sit and judge, who here doth act amisse;
The cloudes that shadow us from the scorching sun,
Are but drawne curtaines till the play be done.

The second, called "A Divine Embleme" is included in *The New Spring* (1619).[26] It runs in part as follows:

Mansion of horror, where the quenchles fire
Burns without ceasing, where the gnawing worme
Eates without resting, and that wofull hire
Death never dead, though dying; where the forme
Of all confusion formeth her retire;[27] . . .

No Life but shade of Life; for what is Life,
But a continuall Death, wherein we die
Each day a little? Where dissention, strife,
Restlesse Ambition, Treason, Periury,
Oppression, violence bee onely rife:
Where outward obiects daze the inward eye,
And ill's made good by sinnes impunity.

Live may I neither to my selfe nor Time,
Since Time-observers now prove Parasites;

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[26] Sig. A4.

[27] On this stanza in the British Museum copy of the *New Spring*, a note in careful manuscript comments: "Closely imitated by John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1. 65–69, and the whole passage scored is altogether in the style and character of *Paradise Lost*". The quotation is as follows:

Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
With ever-burning Sulphur unconsum'd: etc.

But such a vein was common to the religious writers of the age. There is little likelihood that Milton had read the *New Spring*. At most, the passages may be parallel reminiscences of some classic description of eternal torment which both poets had read. As to the general similarity of "A Divine Embleme" and other of Brathwait's work to the themes of Milton, it illustrates how the greatest and the least of the spokesmen of an age share its deeper currents of thought and emotion, even though one be a Puritan and the other a Royalist.

But to make streight that great accompt of mine
After so many dayes, so many nights,
Past in neglect: so may my Soule in fine
Possesse (then happy she) those pure delights
Which doe include of comforts infinites.

. . . . . .

When I observe Earth 's as a Ball in th' ayre,[28]
I askt my selfe what may I seeme to be,
That lives as if I had my Mansion there,
Planting my hopes on mutability? etc.

It is in such passages of philosophical verse, motivated perhaps by religious feeling, but devoid of definitely Christian sentiment or imagery, that Brathwait's deeper lyricism is most impressive.

Upon the somewhat similar verses which head the chapters of *The Arcadian Princesse*, Dibdin, who quotes from them in his *Bibliomania*,[29] lavishes considerable praise. Of the passage beginning "How blind is he who labours to be knowne", he says that he believes Brathwait shines with more lustre as a poet from such passages of this work than from any others that bear his name; and he elsewhere remarks: "Whoever does not see, in these specimens, some of the most powerful rhyming couplets of the early half of the seventeenth century, if not the model of some of the verses in Dryden's satirical pieces, has read both poets with ears differently constructed from those of the author of this book". It is difficult to see why Dibdin should single out these poems for especial praise. There are indeed some powerful couplets in *The Arcadian Princesse*, but so there are in *A Strappado for the Diuell* and in "A Divine Embleme". The verse in *The Arcadian Princesse* strikes a workmanlike level, as does most of Brathwait's verse; but it is principally remarkable for metrical experiments.

Akin to the religious verse in its didactic purpose, though lighter in theme, is *The Good Wife* (1618), in which, seizing on a popular idea—and profiting by the example of Overbury—Brath-

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[28] Cf. Vaughan's "I saw Eternity the other night."
[29] T. F. Dibdin, *Bibliomania*. London, 1876, pp. 300–301, note.

wait portrays in detail the ideal woman of his class and time, and instructs a husband how to treasure her. *The Good Wife* employs the familiar machinery of the dream, in which the author's father appears and speaks. He says that a wife is to be chosen for virtue rather than for portion or for birth; for mutual love, and because her conscience and religion are in set accord with her husband's. A good wife neglects outlandish fashions; she is better qualified in mind than in body, and her recreation is found in harmless amusements like chamber-music. She need not be beautiful, but must be discreet, charitable, able to keep a secret, modest as to her own virtues, no gadabout, and no gossip. The father implies that there are many such women, and advises his son to choose one who cannot do without him. The description is that of perfection itself, and perhaps for that reason is less interesting than the advice to the husband, which follows. The husband must command but never tyrannize. He should never coll or kiss his wife in public. Remembering that she is of the weaker sex, he will not be vexed over trifles. He should make her the half-keeper of his treasury, not limit her to a mere allowance. He should never be jealous, for that implies some hidden weakness in himself; and to seek trouble with her is not manly, nor to meddle in her household affairs. Though a husband ought to think well of his wife, he should never praise her, for in so doing he praises himself. The verse is adequate to the theme, and the whole gives the impression of common sense, pleasantly set down. Some contemporary popularity is argued for *The Good Wife* by its being reissued in the following year; and indeed it contains practical advice which is not too well recognized in our own time.

The volumes thus far discussed are the only ones in which Brathwait appears primarily as a poet. And even in them may be seen evidence of his growing preoccupation with satire and with scholarship. They represent the modes of pastoral and sonnet and other poetic conventions of the years in which Brathwait was growing to manhood. Sir Sidney Lee remarks that the dedications of *The Golden Fleece* (1611) and "Sonnets and Madrigals"[30] closely parallel in phraseology those of other

[30] The second part of *The Golden Fleece.*

volumes published in the same year.[31] But both these works contain elements of satire and disillusionment which look forward to the new time. Brathwait's verse thereafter was chiefly satiric.

Of occasional verse Brathwait wrote a great deal. It consists for the most part of elegies, of which he was fond, and tributes to the reigning sovereign or to patrons and friends, and is of small poetic value. An early illustration which is one of his best efforts, is found in *A Strappado for the Diuell.* It celebrates in sprightly and varied meter "the commodious though compendious labor of Mr. Arthur Standish, In the inuention of planting of Wood",[32] and affords Brathwait an opportunity of glorifying English trees and shrubs, "the Wilding on the steepie rocke", "the Plum, the Damsen, the Katherins peare", hawthorn and osier, whin and brier and many others. Two long addresses in the same volume "To the Alderman of Kendall",[33] and "To the Cottoneers"[34] are in his vein of metrical common sense, and are by no means the least readable of his work.

Brathwait's first elegy upon a notable figure seems to have been a tribute to no less a person than the Earl of Southampton, to whom the *Schollers Medley* had been dedicated. We are informed of the existence of the piece by a note in a later edition of the *Schollers Medley:* "A Funerall Elegy to his precious memory was long since extant; being annexed to my BRITAINS BATH. Anno 1625."[35] No copy of *Britains Bath* seems to have survived; but it is interesting that Brathwait should have joined in the chorus of praise which followed the death of Shakespeare's great patron.

The most sincere and impressive of Brathwait's elegies are those on his first wife. In the earliest of these, the *Anniversaries upon his Panarete* (1634), he seems genuinely carried away at times, and his obvious sincerity redeems much commonplace satire and pedestrian verse. He praises his wife's regard for time, her good repute, her modesty in dress,—creates indeed a rather

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[31] *A Life of William Shakespeare.* New York, 1916, p. 676.
[32] *A Strappado for the Diuell,* Ebsworth's edition, pp. 168–172.
[33] *Ibid.,* pp. 173–188.
[34] *Ibid.,* pp. 189–210.
[35] *A Survey of History* (1638), sig. A4.

fine picture of a good woman; and in even couplets, handled with considerable freedom, assures us that his grief is too deep for tears or mourning dress:

> Wepe! no; I will not: y^{t} would ease mine heart;
> The burden of my griefes shal beare a part
> In sadder Straines: Still-running Rivers are
> Ever the deepest: Not a teare shall share
> In my discomfort: They that can allay
> Their griefs with teares, are mourners for a day.
>
> Nor will I cast my sorrowes on my backe,
> Nor cloath them, as our Painters use, in blacke;
> Such clothing's meere dissembling: many weare
> A sable habit, and distill a teare,
> Who can dispense with griefe: which I detest;
> Though Pictures be by Shadowes best exprest
> To native Symmetrie: we cannot so
> Paint our essential Portraiture of Woe.[36]

Perhaps following the example of Donne, Brathwait intended to write a memorial volume each year, and the second *Anniversaries* duly appeared in 1635. But thereafter the zeal of the bereaved husband seems to have failed, since but two other elegies were licensed,[37] and but one is now extant. The *Anniversaries* of 1635 is in versification and content similar to its predecessor, but includes at the end several pieces of impassioned prose attributed to his wife, but manifestly written by Brathwait.[38] The remaining volume is called *Panaretees Triumph* (1641) and is a tribute to his second wife. With it, naturally, the series ends.

The Fatall Nuptiall (1636), a comparatively recent addition to the list of Brathwait's works, is an elegy in offhand occasional verse, on the victims of a ferry accident on Windermere in 1635. Its discoverer[39] rightly credits it with "touches of nature and imagination" and with a certain nobility, despite its fre-

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[36] Sig. A3.

[37] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, IV. 422. "1638 8 June. A Booke called Master Braithwaite his Anniversaries upon his Panarete". The extant book is *Panaretees Triumph* (1641).

quently commonplace thought and difficult subject. Other elegiac pieces of about the same time are *Raglands Niobe* (1635), a purely conventional threnody addressed "to the unexpiring memory of the most noble Lady, Elizabeth Herbert, wife to the truly honourable, Edward Somerset Lord Herbert"; and the rather disappointing one on the death of Brathwait's beloved friend and godfather, Sir Richard Hutton,[40] which, owing to Hutton's eminence in the political world, is for the most part a satire upon his enemies.

A word as to panegyric: it was a universal custom, and often purely formal, though deriving a certain personal significance from the conception of the sovereign as patron of honor. In accordance with the convention, Brathwait included in his work praise of Elizabeth and more frequently of James. But his principal production of this kind is *To His Majesty upon his Happy Arrivall In our late discomposed Albion* (1660), published almost immediately after the Restoration. As might be expected of a poet then seventy-two, *To His Majesty* is less a paean than a common-sense greeting, containing some vivid and bitter pictures of the state of affairs during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and satire of the Royalists who had saved their estates by propitiating the Puritans. An interesting side-light on conditions is given in the concluding address "To the Croud of Supplicants at White-hall."

Brathwait's occasional verse does not attain a high level of excellence, nor does it fall below a certain even merit. Its most noteworthy features are the consistency of its political viewpoint, and the sincerity of its tribute to the character of the first Mistress Brathwait.

One work of doubtful authenticity falls within the category of religious verse. On November 14, 1637, there was licensed by the Stationers' company *The Psalmes of David the King. . and of other holy Prophetts paraphrased . . by R. B.*[41], which duly appeared

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[38] "Contemplations of Panarete", reprinted in *Essaies upon the Five Sences* (1635).
[39] See p. 119, note 13.
[40] See p. 14.
[41] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, IV. 398.

in 1638. It was attributed to Brathwait by Haslewood,[42] on the evidence of (1) a small oval portrait on the title-page which he takes to be Brathwait; (2) the use of a pointing hand, at various places in the margin paralleled in *Barnabees Journall*, and in *A Survey of History*, both published in the same year as the *Psalmes*, and paralleled likewise in other of Brathwait's works; (3) the fondness of the author for the word *worm*, as in the concluding stanza of the paraphrase,

> Praise to the God of Heaven,
> Be given by mee a Worme,
> That Davids numbers in this forme,
> To me a Worme hath given.
> R. B.

which Haslewood parallels with more than a page of examples of Brathwait's use of the word;[43] (4) the occurrence of an apology for the errata.

Haslewood's evidence is insufficient to render his attribution convincing. The head on the title-page is indeed similar to the avowed portrait of Brathwait in *A Survey of History* of the same year, especially as to the eyes, but it is much older looking. Moreover, it is small and not very distinctly individualized. The similarity between the two engravings might be the result of their being by the same artist, Marshall. The pointing hand is a not uncommon typographical device, used in many seventeenth century pamphlets in the same haphazard fashion as in Brathwait's. The word *worm* is a common metaphor in religious writing, and familiar Elizabethan as well; hence we cannot regard it as such positive evidence as does Haslewood. The same is true of the apology for the errata, on which Haslewood strongly relies in this and other instances. The apology in the *Psalmes* reads simply, "Other errours favourably excuse, and amend at pleasure", which can be paralleled in many seventeenth century works not by Brathwait.

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[42] Haslewood, p. 128 and pp. 139–140.
[43] Haslewood, Notes.
[44] Part II, p. 411.

Later commentators have added little to the evidence set forth by Haslewood. Corser in his *Collectanea*[44] confirms the attribution of the *Psalmes* to Brathwait on the ground of the Latin dedication to the memory of "Reverendissi P. Honoratissi. D. L. Andrewes nuper D. Episc. Winton. Dom. & Tutoris mei Colendissi. cujus auspiciis inchoatum hoc opus", assuming that Andrewes had been Brathwait's tutor at Cambridge. But though we may accept Anthony a Wood's statement that Brathwait was for a time in residence at Cambridge, he cannot have matriculated until some years after the departure of Andrewes, who was Master of Pembroke from 1589 or 1590 until 1605. Nor is it known which college Brathwait attended; and no other evidence connecting him with Andrewes has come to light. Owing to Andrewes' continued interest in Pembroke after his resignation as master,[45] it is possible that Brathwait might have come under Andrewes' influence at Cambridge. But the dedication cannot aid in establishing Brathwait's authorship of the *Psalmes*. Halkett and Laing attribute the *Psalmes* to Brathwait without comment,[46] doubtless accepting Haslewood's and Corser's authority; and most library catalogues follow suit, with varying degrees of hesitation.

Possibly the absence of any alternative explanation of the origin of the book is somewhat significant. The *Stationers' Register* for 1638 and the preceding five years supplies us with at least seven R. B.'s—Sir Richard Baker, a man of considerable learning, whose *Meditation and paraphrase on the psalms* was licensed in 1638; Robert Burton, Robert Butler, Richard Barnard, Robert Boulton, Robert Butterfield, and Richard Byfield, the last three being divines and authors of religious pamphlets—any one of whom might seem more likely to be the author of the *Psalmes* than Brathwait. But none seem to have been connected with Pembroke college or Cambridge during Andrewes' incumbency as master of Pembroke. Holland in his *Psalmists of Britain*[47] argues somewhat feebly that Brathwait was too busy

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[45] See the discussion of this point, p. 19.
[46] III, col. 2050.
[47] I. 291. Cited by Corser, *Collectanea*, Part II, pp. 411 and 413.

to have translated the Psalms, since he is known to have published three works in 1638, and advances one R. Burnaby as author of the paraphrase. But no real argument is given in favor of Burnaby, about whom, indeed, little seems to be known; and even the argument against Brathwait is weak, since Brathwait was sufficiently prolific and versatile to produce four works in a year, and in fact did so three years later, in 1641. Moreover, the dates of his publications have no sure relation to the dates of their composition.

The *Psalmes* contains little further evidence of Brathwait's authorship, nor anything to render it unlikely. The style has none of his peculiarities, but the same is true of his other translations, such as *The Kings of France* and parts of *A Spirituall Spicerie*. The verse, the familiar "sixes and sevens" of the psalm-books, is indistinguishable alike from specimens of it elsewhere in Brathwait and from that of other metrical paraphrases. The printer, Constable, was not employed in any of Brathwait's known volumes; but that proves nothing. The book has a frontispiece by Marshall, but so have dozens of other books of the time. Brathwait's other works are full of quotations from the Psalms, but none of these is from the paraphrase under discussion. The show of linguistic learning on the titlepage is suggestive of one whose tutor had been a linguist such as Andrewes: "Conferred with the Hebrew Veritie, set forth by B. Arias Montanus, together with the Latine, Greek Septuagint and Chaldee Paraphrase." Brathwait knew Latin and Greek, and while we may doubt his erudition in Chaldee, some knowledge of Hebrew is argued by his occasional use of Hebrew phrases and derivations.[48] On the other hand, any of the R. B.'s mentioned above may have been versed in these tongues. Two minor matters which point more particularly to Brathwait may be added: Montanus' name appears in a list of sources added to the combined edition of *The English Gentleman and English Gentlewoman* (1641)[49] and it might appear that Brathwait had been put in mind of this authority by work-

[48] Cf. *The Law of Drinking* (1617), p. 190, and *Anniversaries upon his Panarete; Continued* (1635), sig. A2.

[49] "Supplement", p. 5.

ing on the *Psalmes* three years before; also, the dedication to Andrewes of Cambridge is preceded by a quotation from "D. J. Rainold, Oxon.", so that the work stands to the credit of both universities in the order in which Brathwait attended them. But such details are easily explained away. All that can safely be said is that since most versifiers of the age translated some or all of the Psalms, Brathwait is likely to have done so; and that such evidence as we have applies more readily to Brathwait than to any other R. B. writing at the time.

IX

An Experiment in Realistic Fiction

That so versatile a writer as Brathwait and one so habitually in the current literary mode would at some time try his hand at fiction is to be expected. It is, indeed, strange that he did not do so both earlier and oftener than he did. We have, however, but one specimen of his work in this kind, and that—with respect to the first period of popular prose fiction in England—a rather belated one.

The Two Lancashire Lovers: or The Excellent History of Philocles and Doriclea appeared in 1640.[1] It is a prose romance some 268 pages in length, having affiliations with the heroic romances inspired by Sidney's *Arcadia*, but remarkable for its localization in rural England, among people of Brathwait's own class, and for its attempt to portray realistically the manners and even at times the dialect of its characters. The story is well told. Brathwait's ability in narrative is manifest even when, as in his narrative satires, he cumbers it with lengthy and superfluous preambles and frequent discursions on moral themes. But in *Two Lancashire Lovers* he is intent on the story itself, and tells it in the direct, simple style of his later work; and the result is a piece of fluent and ofttimes diverting fiction.

A brief résumé of the plot of *Two Lancashire Lovers* reveals various narrative formulas familiar to students of the heroic romances, especially the convention of building up in the latter half of the tale a series of rapid adventures, fights, disguisings, and the like. "Neare to that antient Towne of famous and time-honoured Gaunt" there sometime dwelled one Androgeus, a gentleman who had borne offices of account and quality under his sovereign. His wife, Euryclea, was of a family of native worth, and they had a hopeful progeny, among them an only daughter, Doriclea. Virtuous, discreet, and religious, the girl

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[1] It was originally called the "Excellent History of Philocles and Doriclea", and was announced on the title-page of *Ar't asleepe Husband?* (1640) as a second part of that volume, but did not so appear.

was so eager to learn that she had determined never to marry, but was educated at home, having masters for dancing, for languages and so on. The parents of Doriclea wish to marry her to a rich but unattractive suitor, Camillus, but being averse to marriage, and especially averse to Camillus personally, she makes excuses,—she is too young, she is not well—and rejects him. Next Mardanes, a grazier, a rich country chuff, labors to procure her love, and is referred by her parents, without approval or disapproval, to Doriclea herself. Him also she rejects, whereupon he falls into a passion. He assures himself that all is for the best, since he is old, and if he were married to a young girl rumor would never be silent. But cold reason cannot quench his desire, and he resolves upon a desperate expedient, sorcery. Meanwhile Doriclea renews her vow not to marry, unless she should fall in love. Within a short time Philocles, whom her parents have employed to be her schoolmaster, takes occasion privately to impart his affection to her. He has already advised her concerning her other suitors, doubtless, as the author remarks, not to their avail. Doriclea is fond of Philocles, but will not show it, and his motion is received with seeming scorn. She rebukes him harshly, threatens to tell her father, and, apparently very angry, leaves the room. Philocles reflects sadly that he has that cloud of a scholar hanging over him, and resolves to keep his distance thereafter, help Doriclea to marry happily, and then return to the academic life. Next day, however, Doriclea introduces at table the subject of Ovid, who made love to a Prince's daughter. She wonders, she says, at such presumption. But this she does only to try her lover, for she is really madly in love with him. Unaware of this, Philocles goes about like a malcontent, lamenting his condition aloud, and Doriclea overhears him. Finally the minx writes him a contradictory, alluring letter, in which though she protests that schoolmasters are "foxes in the Schoole, but Sheepe in the world", she promises to love him if he give her but one good reason why she should. Philocles' spirits rise at once, and he answers most eloquently, with many good reasons. Thereafter for a time the pair amuse themselves by exchanging letters written under feigned names, letters which could not be interpreted even if discovered, and

bits of love-verse. Their plot is discovered, however, by Euryclea, who says in effect, "I see now what you meant, young lady, when you talked one evening about Ovid". Various rendezvous are prevented by Euryclea's watchfulness, and Philocles enters on a most trying time, when he is forced to watch other men court Doriclea though "every kisse is a killing to him". Sometimes he takes part in fireside games with his sweetheart and her visitors, and even carries messages from them to her. Doriclea longs to send him a message, but her mother, a person of much decision, has taken away quills and ink; she is forced to stitch a love-verse into the hem of a kerchief, which she sends to Philocles. The message is discovered and Philocles is thrown into prison by Androgeus' command. Meantime Doriclea learns from a hermit that the disappointed Mardanes is resorting to sorcery, and obtains a charm, the sign of the cross, to ward off the spell. Disguised as a page she attempts to escape from her parents' house, but is stopped by the watch. She places a puppet in her bed, and tries again to escape, but this time forgets the keys to the courtyard. Desperate, she obtains a counter-spell by which Mardanes' love-charm is directed on Mellida, her maid, who is also bewitched into love for him. Philocles escapes by drugging his jailers, and sends renewed pledges of his love and constancy. Finally Doriclea also escapes, and they meet joyfully at the hermit's hut.

The lovers decide to take the hermit's advice, which is that they marry the following morning. The ceremony has just begun, however, when Androgeus enters with a band of men, and Philocles is forced to flee. After mutual recriminations within the family, Doriclea cunningly pretends that Philocles has been permanently frightened away, and thus throws her parents off guard. She also consents to see Mardanes, but gives all his presents to Mellida. Philocles, now overseas, writes to Androgeus a clever letter, full of apparent promises to forsake his suit which are really double meanings, and announce to Doriclea his faithfulness. Fortunately, Euryclea has now come to dislike Mardanes as a possible son-in-law, for he is old, fat, and surly. To justify herself, Euryclea pretends that she has been opposing Philocles in order to test her daughter's love for him. But Doriclea is

impatient, and hits upon a new ruse. She falls into a fever, from which a famous doctor, Eschites, announces that she cannot recover unless she is allowed to marry Philocles. Philocles is sent for. Mardanes, hearing that Doriclea is ill, sends word that he is coming and that all will be well. By good luck, Androgeus at this moment learns that Philocles is of good family and fortune and becomes reconciled to him. On Philocles' arrival, he and Doriclea are happily united, and at the same time his sister and her lover, whom she has been following about as a page, are wed. Mardanes, still under the spell that causes him to believe that he is marrying Doriclea, is united to the maid, and much comedy is derived from his discomfiture when he realizes the trick: "The Bridegroome stood as mute as a Fish . . till at last the Brazen-head spoke, saying; What must be, must be. After they had accompanied them home; they broke the Bride-cake, and brought the unweldy Bridegroome to his bed; wishing the Bride good rest (being all she could possibly expect)". . . .

"Within some few Moneths, . . these two married couples returned into their Countrey; where they were received with great joy by the Gentry, who admired much the relation of their amity: and whose constancy to this day, reteines testimony of their living memory." Thus the tale concludes.

Obviously, for so commonplace a plot no particular source could be pointed out, or need be. It is, however, interesting to speculate as to the impulse which led Brathwait to depart from his habit of following current literary fashion, and to produce his single attempt at romance just when, as one historian remarks, "the English stopped writing and reading fiction". The date 1640 is too early for the influence of Calprenede, in whose *Hymen's Praeludia* Brathwait was subsequently interested;[2] and for the vogue of the courtly circle which produced Reynolds' *Flower of Fidelitie* (1650), Boyle's *Parthenissa* (1654), and Mackenzie's *Aretina* (1660). The affiliations of *Two Lancashire Lovers* are clearly with the past, and with English rather

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[2] Brathwait wrote commendatory verses for Loveday's translation of *Hymen's Praeludia* (1652).

than French romance. With its classical names, its introduction of sorcery, and its occasional pauses for cultural discussion and instruction, it may best be referred to the long-continued influence of Sidney's *Arcadia*, though it owes something as well to a reading of Greene and the later imitations of *Euphues*, such as Emanuel Ford's *Parismus* (1598–99) and *Ornatus and Artesia* (1607).

On the other hand the emphasis in *Two Lancashire Lovers* is upon its realistic rather than its romantic qualities; and in this respect it looks forward rather than back. There is a manifest effort to preserve probability in the plot and human motivation in the characters. Androgeus is not the unreasonable father of romance, but a Lancashire gentleman, open to the persuasion of youth, property, and a connection with county families; Philocles is less the handsome and lovable hero than a young and rather self-conscious schoolmaster with a university education; Doriclea is an English gentleman's daughter, as forceful as she is charming. Moreover, there is a considerable attempt in *Two Lancashire Lovers* to picture the actual life of the squirearchy. For example, apropos of the proposal of marriage made by Mardanes, there is an interesting picture of the indentures of a marriage of convenience, which call upon the husband to maintain a certain rank and style of living, provide clothes of sufficient richness, a coach gaudily distinguished, and a summer house with private passages in each corner. In the chapter which tells of Doriclea's entertainment of her suitors, country games like "making Gooselings in the fire"[3] and "drawing of gloves"[4] are played. During Doriclea's illness, several country maidens come in to cheer her, and relate their love-affairs with various gentlemen of the neighborhood, one in particular being proud of the fact that the object of her affections has won the Summer Games for the last two years, though unfortunately he is unattractive looking because he has no beard. There is

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[3] Gooseling—presumably the figure of a gosling. The *NED* quotes More, Works, 1535, p. 1224: "Make goselinges in the ashes with a sticke as children do".

[4] *I. e.*, draw-glove, "an old parlour game . . which consisted apparently in a race at drawing off gloves at the utterance of certain words." (*NED*).

realism, too, in the passage which describes Mardanes arraying himself for the wedding, and preparing as a kissing-comfit "an orange stuck with cloves".

The dialogue throughout is remarkably free from affectation, and has indeed its flashes of pure realistic comedy. A fair sample is the chapter in which Philocles tells Doriclea of his love. The youth is aware that Doriclea does not dislike him, for he is companionable, has—unlike many schoolmasters—the "distinction of times; when to be serious, when gay", and does not force logic on the company. But he knows also that, as a scholar and a younger brother, he has little to offer, though he comforts himself with the thought that she whose fancy he beseeches is but a woman, and that an unkind repulse is the worst entertainment he can possibly expect. For all that, his approach is a hesitant one: he says that he has read how Jacob, for his seven years labor, received Leah. "And," Doriclea says, "if my Father had any such bleare-ey'd Daughter, you should have my consent to enjoy her." Philocles strengthens his attack with the remark that she is to blame for his lack of pay. "I!" Doriclea exclaims. "When did I ever? . . I do hate ungrateful people." The lover recalls that it was he who first taught her *Amo*, and asks why she now refuses it; to which Doriclea answers that to decline it was her first lesson. Finally after his proposal, her feigned anger is delightfully phrased. The interview in which the "amorous lubber" Camillus speaks in Lancashire dialect has been called by critics inaccurate: "Yaw, Iantlewoman," says Camillus, "with the Saffron Snude, you shall know that I am Master Camillus, my mothers anely white boy. And she wad han you of all loves to wad me . . ." But whether good seventeenth century Lancashire or not,[5] Camillus' speech sounds convincing enough, and it certainly contains some picturesque expressions. For it, as for the inclusion of the other realistic elements, Brathwait must be credited with a measure of originality. And since his practice is not likely to have been wholly unrelated to the taste of the time, *Two Lancashire Lovers* may

[5] Early attempts at dialect are frequently conventional; cf. for example those of Jonson, in the *Sad Shepherd* and the *New Inne*. Brathwait's, though not markedly similar to these, seems much the same sort of thing.

properly be deemed an early indication of a tendency toward the realistic fiction popularized by Defoe, and as such should be interesting to students of the history of the novel.

The realism of *Two Lancashire Lovers* may be due in part to its alluding to actual persons and happenings. At any rate, the dedication to Brathwait's friend, "Alexander Rigby Esq.[6] Clarke of the Crowne for the County Palatine"[7] implies that it contains such allusion: "Sir, I here present you with two Native Plants of your owne Countrey; Branches derived from a faire and flourishing Family. Give them entertainment according to their merit; whose memory redounds highly to their Countries glory." Moreover here, as in "The Life of Mariano Silesio" in *The Arcadian Princesse*, Brathwait at times attributes to the characters of his fiction his own personal appearance and career. Philocles is a university man and a scholar, and of Brathwait's height and coloring. And there is a familiar ring in the description of an eminent scion of Doriclea's family "who though he seemed a . . . Favorite to all youthful pleasures . . . enjoy'd divine parts. For sundry excellent Workes tasting both of Lampe and Judgment were by him composed, though under an others name published: which expressed the ability of his pen, and the affected privacy of his mind." We might surmise that the "eminent scion" was Brathwait himself, though in that event he might have hinted in the dedication at the heroine's relationship to himself. As to the episode, whatever it may have been, it can have had little resemblance to the plot of *Two Lancashire Lovers*. Attempts to identify the persons of the story have failed;[8] but the matter is not important since their identification could add nothing to the reader's understanding and enjoyment of the piece.

Two Lancashire Lovers being Brathwait's sole attempt at sustained prose fiction, its success is the more to his credit. It is in some respects his most original work, embodying as it does a

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[6] To Rigby Brathwait had previously dedicated "The Smoaking Age", in *The Law of Drinking* (1617).

[7] Hence the pseudonym, Musaeus Palatinus, over which the *Two Lancashire Lovers* was published.

[8] See *Publications of the Chetham Society*, XXXIX. 7, note 1.

kind of realism unusual in the romances, and seemingly based upon the author's observations of the life of his own district. Moreover, it is exceptional among his works in that it contains little repetition of material from his satiric writings, and little of the cultural and moral instruction of which Brathwait is so fond, pointing out the advantages of heredity, the similarity of his heroine to the good matrons of Rome, or the superior modesty of her love-letters to those of Cleopatra, only in an occasional brief paragraph. Scarcely any other of Brathwait's works is in material and style so dominated by an artistic purpose as *Two Lancashire Lovers*. In it also he displays, especially in several letters involving clever *double entendre*, a verbal ingenuity rare with him. The fact that so readable a book seems to have won little attention in its day may safely be laid, in part at least, to the unsettled times which followed immediately after its publication.

X

Didactic and Religious Works

If we may judge from the number of Brathwait's avowed works which are didactic or religious in content, and the frequency with which they were reprinted, this author seems to have impressed his time, and to have wished to impress it, chiefly as a scholar and as a social and spiritual arbiter. The volume of his work in this vein is larger than in any other except satire, and the reprints during his life are more numerous than those of the satires.

In his didactic and religious writings, as indeed in all of his work, Brathwait's point of view is that of a gentleman and a scholar; a gentleman, in the sense of a landed proprietor, a Royalist, a patriot, and a sound, though not bigoted member of the Church of England; a scholar, in the sense of a man trained at the universities, well-read in the classics, and in contemporary literature, and showing a special fondness for history. These two elements, gentility and scholarship, are one in his mind: the gentleman is a scholar, the scholar a gentleman. Brathwait had also the experience of a man of the world, was conversant with the life of the country and the town, and acquainted with the drama. The resultant point of view is a well-balanced and sound one. Brathwait is, if not in the vanguard of the thought of his time, certainly no mere conservative. He is commendably free from prejudices, and tends in many ways toward modes of thought which the world was later to adopt. And since his fullest revelation of himself is contained in his didactic and religious writing, the reader desirous of making his acquaintance will find these works most useful. They exhibit in detail the author's thought and style, and contain the corpus of oft-repeated commonplaces of subject, phrase, and reference by means of which attribution to him of unsigned pieces may be made with comparative safety.

The didactic books of Brathwait may be divided into works of scholarship, and courtesy-books. His first scholarly work is

among the earliest of his publications, and is clearly the result of his university training in the classics, combined with a personal bent toward the reading of history and toward authorship. It is called *The Schollers Medley, Or, An Intermixt Discourse Upon Historicall and Poeticall Relations* and appeared in 1614, being dedicated to Shakespeare's patron, the Earl of Southampton. A foreword "To the understanding Reader" implies that the enterprise is a somewhat novel one; and we may indeed credit Brathwait with being one of the earliest proponents of the idea, so familar to us at present, of popularizing knowledge through "outlines" of history, literature, and art.

The text of *The Schollers Medley* is not divided into chapters; but heads and sub-heads, authorities, and desultory comment are given in marginal notes. Three general subjects are treated: "The Scope of histories", "The Fruit of histories" and "The profite redounding to priuate Families by Histories". The author begins by discoursing of the value of history in general, the necessity of accuracy, and the use of authorities, of whom Tacitus is to be preferred before most. He criticizes the writings of English travelers, those who invent rather than record, and those who observe trivialities, such as customs and fashions, rather than laws and trends of thought. He then divides histories into Divine, Discursive, Morall, Physicke, or Mixt. Of Divine Histories, he laments those which mix sacred and profane things, and corrupt the Scripture. Of Discursive Histories, he complains:[1] "I haue apprehended many of this vaine [foolish Phantastickes] . . . talking of strange Horse-races[2], such as their barraine Muse neuer conceiued: others of Fabulous Histories, neuer found out by that Arch-Artist, Nature." Their opposites are Satyricall Writers, or Historio-mastixes, some of whom are dangerous to a state, laying it open too much. The true historian, he says, is neither flatterer nor satirist, but a mean between the two, with the proper parts of each. But true historians are rare. For this reason, it is necessary to compare historians; also because of their inaccuracy in the use of various calendars, and in other ways.

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[1] At p. 18.

[2] A reference to Dekker's *Strange Horse-race* (1613). A number of later allusions to popular books are explained by Corser, *Collectanea*, Part II, p. 342.

Discursive histories include also "Feigned Relations or Poeticall Histories", such as Homer, Hesiod, and—though an atheist—Lucian. Primalion, Palmerin de Oliva, the Knight of the Sunne, Gerilion, are bad for youth, however; some after reading Orlando Furioso run stark naked, making love-songs to their Angelica.

Moral histories, the author continues, are needed against vanity and vice. Physical Histories deal with things animate and inanimate, as in the writings of Pliny and Aristotle. A superficial knowledge of science is not unworthy the generous spirit, but we should not seek to know more than nature has prescribed. Divines should read Physical histories to learn natural wonders with which to confound the atheist, wonders which, incredible as they may seem, have never been disproved. Mixt histories, of which the work of Sallust is an example, contain elements of all the other kinds except the Divine, and are valuable for Truth, Explanations of causes and results, and Judgement as to what is best and worst. Under the head of Truth the author decries stories which "imitating your Mercenary Actors, spurt out some obscœne ieast to make a prophane Rogue applaud . . ."[3] The section on Explanation of causes is an excellent passage in which Brathwait puts individual worth above hereditary position. The first part then concludes, with a quotation from Bacon.

Part two, "The fruit and use of history", is a brief recommendation of the moral value of history, which can liberalize the miser, redeem the prodigal, teach the lover, restrain the ambitious man. Part three takes up the "particular profit drawne from History to particular persons", and examples are given of soldiers, merchants, sailors, and their wives, who might well so profit. Thus the book ends as it began, on a popular, democratic note. The author emphasizes, however, the point that it is classical historians they should read, not Mandevill, Bevis of Southampton, nor "Don Quixotte transformed into a Knight with the Golden Pestle".

This résumé of the contents of *The Schollers Medley* may impress the reader with what Corser calls the sound sense,

[3] P. 69.

practical truth, and extensive reading of Brathwait.[4] It explains, certainly, the word "medley" in the title, and shows that Brathwait includes under "histories" almost every kind of narrative or informational work. But it cannot hope to convey the effect of confusion created in the mind by an attempt to read *The Schollers Medley*; a confusion which results from Brathwait's utter inability at this early stage of his career, to order his material or to stick to any plan he may adopt. Satire, maxim, illustration, great events and trivial tales,—all the heterogeneous gleanings of an observant youth and an omnivorous reading are thrown together without any kind of sequence. Nonetheless, when the less teeming modern mind becomes accustomed to its lack of method, the interest of the material begins to appear, and we can understand why a new edition, doubled in length and somewhat better arranged, was called for in 1638. It was called—or miscalled—*A Survey of History*, and was reissued in 1651 and 1652.

The Lives of All the Roman Emperors (1636), *An Epitome of All the Lives of the Kings of France* (1639), and *A Mustur Roll of the evill Angels* (1655)[5] are compilations and translations from the authorities quoted in *A Survey of History*, and share in its attempt to popularize history for the general reader. Of the three, the *Mustur Roll*, "a Collection, according to the order of Time . . of the chiefe of the Ancient Heretikes", is the most interesting. After a discussion of the Gnostics, Mohammedans, Adamites, Anabaptists, and Arrians, and their heresies as to marriage, free-love, and the virginity of Mary, the author adds in a pointed postscript that "alas they are all lived over againe". *The Mustur Roll* is an entertaining book and well deserved its reissue, under the title of *Capitall Hereticks*, in 1659. Like the *Roman Emperors* and the *Kings of France*, the *Mustur Roll* is unsigned; but all three bear Brathwait's initials, and by the

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[4] *Collectanea*, Part II, pp. 342–343.

[5] This title is perhaps a reminiscence of Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635), to which Brathwait refers in *A Survey of History*, p. 114, note. "My Iudicious Friend Master *Tho. Heywood*, hath taken in hand . . to make a Generall (though Summary) description of all the Poets lives; and with farre more felicity, I hope, than his mysterious Discourse of *Angels*."

similarity of their contents to illustrations in *A Survey of History*, they are easily recognizable as his. The *Roman Emperors*, sometimes attributed to Robert Bassett, bears what is generally held to be a portrait of Brathwait. And the *Kings of France* repeats material from its predecessor. The style of these handbooks is facile and free from affectation, being thus admirably adapted for the comparatively uneducated reader for whom the volumes were evidently intended.

Brathwait's remaining book of popular scholarship is a venture into literary criticism, *A Comment upon the Two Tales of our Ancient, Renowned, and Ever-living Poet Sr Jeffray Chaucer, Knight . . The Miller's Tale, and The Wife of Bath . . London . .* 1665. It is recognized as his by its repetition of material from *A Strappado for the Diuell*[6] and *Two Lancashire Lovers*[7], and by parallels with other signed works. The author informs us that the *Comment* was begun and finished in his "Blooming Years"; it had been referred to in *The Smoaking Age* (1617).[8]

The *Comment upon Chaucer* consists of a running explanation, paraphrase, and illustration of the two *Canterbury Tales*, successive portions of which are quoted in black letter. The meaning of unfamiliar words is explained, and Chaucer's art is enthusiastically praised. Classical allusions are copiously annotated. Brathwait's comment is often witty, and occasionally, from the nature of the tales selected, coarse. It is likely that Chaucer's reputation at the time was that of an improper writer[9] and the *Comment* was doubtless undertaken in the same spirit as *The Law of Drinking*, with which its composition was contemporary. But no especial notice is taken of the vulgar passages; the commentator does his duty by annotating whatever his readers would fail to understand, whether proper or improper.

Brathwait shares the seventeenth century view of Chaucer, *i. e.* that though excellent for poetry he was a poor metrist;

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[6] The story of a woman who disguised her lover in a bear-skin, p. 120 of *A Strappado for the Diuell*, Ebsworth's edition, is repeated in the *Comment on Chaucer*, p. 84.

[7] "Love's Description", at p. 161 of the *Two Lancashire Lovers*, is repeated verbatim at p. 123.

[8] See p. 100.

[9] See p. 101, note 1.

but he phrases his approbation with considerable feeling:

> Amidst this Discourse, a Critick stepping in, objected . . that he could allow well of Chaucer, if his Language were better, Whereto the Author of these Commentaries return'd him this Answer: "Sir, It appears, You prefer Speech before the Headpiece; Language before Invention; whereas Weight of Judgment has ever given Invention Priority before Language. And not to leave you dissatisfied, As the Time wherein these Tales were writ, rendered him incapable of the one; So his Pregnancy of Fancy approv'd him incomparable for the other. Which Answer still'd this Censor, and justified the Author; leaving New-holme to attest his Deserts; his Works to perpetuate his Honour.[10]

The *Comment* as a whole is interesting because of its early composition, as a proof of general interest in Chaucer a half century before Dryden's *January and May*. And since interpretative criticism of the kind found in the *Comment* was practically unknown at the time of its conception, Brathwait would seem to deserve considerable credit for his initiative. A modern editor, Miss Spurgeon,[11] calls the *Comment* "one of the very few bright places of Chaucer criticism, during the time of gloom and neglect encountered by the old poet in the 17th century."

The English Gentleman (1630) and *The English Gentlewoman* (1631) are Brathwait's contributions to the long line of conduct-books. They are his most frequently reprinted works. Since additional matter was included with each reprinting the most convenient form in which to read them is in the combined edition, which last appeared in 1652. The books aim to provide a combination of entertainment, by means of numerous popular anecdotes, moral admonition with classical illustration, and specific instruction as to the character, mode of life, education, dress, manner, vocation, politics, and religion of the Christian gentleman or gentlewoman. *The English Gentleman* is divided into eight books, which are entitled, Youth, Disposition, Education, Vocation, Recreation, Acquaintance, Moderation, and

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[10] P. 199.

[11] *Richard Brathwait's Comments, in 1665, upon Chaucer's Tales of the Miller and the Wife of Bath*, ed. C. F. E. Spurgeon. London, 1901. (*Chaucer Society Publications*, Second Series, No. 33). Introduction, p. xvi.

Perfection; while the gentlewoman is advised as to Apparel, Behavior, Complement, Decency, Estimation, Fancy, Gentility, and Honour. Each book is in turn divided into several brief essays each dealing primarily with some point of social instruction; for example, Youth is instructed as to Gate, Looke, Speech, Habit, Lust, Ambition, and Revenge; and under Apparel are treated The necessity of Apparel, Use of Apparel, Abuse of Apparel, Delicacy of Apparel, and Native Apparel.

Such a scheme, carried out with reference to the society of the day, by a man in Brathwait's position, would make a valuable and interesting book. And to the extent to which this is done in *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman*, the volume has these qualities. We learn that simplicity of diction is desirable; that native fashions are preferable to foreign ones; that gentlewomen should not drink, nor carry about with them copies of *Venus and Adonis*. Young gentlemen should take up "discoveries and adventures", law, or politics; they should not play with a button nor "milch their gloves" while speaking; they should not be too intimate with their Tutor, but should study hard; they should practice hawking, hunting, fishing, swimming, wrestling, leaping, dancing, painting, chess, and card games such as Maw, Gleek, and Cribbage; but are warned against dicing, whoring, stage-plays, except in moderation, and duelling, though fencing is allowable.

On the etiquette of feminine society there is somewhat less specific advice than for gentlemen; and *The English Gentlewoman* is somewhat more simply written, as though intended for less active minds. But in both sections the ideas are common ones, such as would be current in every family of breeding. Brathwait does not emerge as an arbiter of the details and niceties of conduct. But his social instruction is interesting, and from the whole emerges a conception of character and deportment, of learning and public service, honesty and unselfishness that is highly admirable. The difficulty with his courtesy-books is that the anecdotes, many of which, though interesting, are irrelevant to the discussion in which they occur, and the moral exhortation have so completely submerged the advice as to conduct, that many of the essays could be interchanged without reference to

their titles. The book is a complete restatement[12] of its author's ideas, satire, and sermonizing on every subject of which he writes elsewhere.

As to Brathwait's model in *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* Raleigh writes:[13]

> In the Seventeenth Century the inheritance and influence of *The Courtier* were parcelled out among rival teachers. The most popular book in Cavalier circles was Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1622) which ran through many editions, and was held in high esteem by the courtiers of the Restoration. Richard Brathwaite in his *English Gentleman* (1630) and *English Gentlewoman* (1631) presented the Puritans with the draft of a character by no means destitute of polite accomplishments yet grounded at all points on religious precepts. The beginnings of later impoverishment and confusion of thought are plainly to be seen in these two books. Peacham makes it a great part of the duty of a gentleman to be able to blazon his own coat-of-arms: Brathwaite writes long pulpit homilies, proving from the Bible that clothes are the mark of man's corruption, that there is no greatness which has not a near relation to goodness, and that the only armoury that can truly deblazon a gentleman is to be found in acts of charity and devotion. The brief section on jests in the *English Gentleman* is borrowed, without any sort of acknowledgment, from *The Courtier*.

It is interesting that Raleigh should have found the religious element in *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* so pervasive as to prove Brathwait a Puritan! And the debt of Brathwait's section on jests[14] to Castiglione's[15] is surely overstated; the passages are alike only in being based on the second book of Cicero's *De Oratore*. It is clear that Brathwait's work belongs in the tradition of courtesy-books for which a new model had been set in the previous age by Castiglione. But Castiglione is an observer of manners, while Brathwait is a moral philosopher.

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[12] Brathwait explains on p. 245 of the edition of 1641 that his continual repetitions of idea are intentional.

[13] *The Book of the Courtier* (Hoby's translation). London, 1900, Introduction, p. 85 ff.

[14] *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* (1641), pp. 136–137.

[15] *Op. cit.*, pp. 152–199.

[16] *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV. 393.

Evidently some new and powerful influence has intervened. It is, in fact, that of Bacon, whose *Essayes*, as Routh observes,[16] "must have seemed a kind of *Complete Courtier*". The vogue of Castiglione's *Courtier*, by Raleigh's own admission,[17] "had passed away with the passing of the society which gave birth to it". It was Bacon who aroused the mind of the seventeenth century to a new and thoughtful interest in conduct. Brathwait quotes Bacon in his *Schollers Medley*,[18] and praises him at length in his *Survey of History*;[19] and it is as a formal collection of essays, inspired by those of Bacon,[20] that *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* can best be understood.

Other courtesy-books in the new tradition are numerous; and since Bacon was their model, it is not surprising that they are frequently practical and of a scholarly or scientific bent.[21] Among these may be listed Brathwait's *Schollers Medley* and *A Survey of History*, to which the author himself refers as compendia of gentlemanly knowledge.[22] Similar to these is Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), a simple and usable compilation of facts and advice on such matters as Cosmography, Painting, and Heraldry. At most, however, *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* can owe to Peacham only its title, and its arrangement by sections. It is far less practical and informative; and where its topics coincide with those of Peacham, Brathwait's work is without definite borrowing. Moreover, both Peacham and Brathwait claim affinity with the ancient writers, in the material and method of their books. Brathwait had already done so in his *Schollers Medley*:[23] "Such were those *Apologae Fabulae* . . which contained in them many pithy and graue sentences, and worthy obseruation in the excellentest

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[17] *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 85.
[18] P. 87.
[19] P. 163.
[20] An imitator of Bacon and Montaigne who illustrates the impulse toward the courtesy-book material is Sir William Cornwallis, whose *Essayes* appeared in 1600, etc.
[21] See bibliography, in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV. 595–596.
[22] *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* (1641), p. 118, note 1. "*The Survey of histories* lately revised and amply inlarged; which might be rightly entitled . . The Noble-mans Lecture", etc.
[23] P. 67.

Moral: these are fitly called by *Tully, Mirrors of Mans Life, Patternes of Manners*". But in scope, and in its prevalent moral tone, Brathwait's work is unique.

The prose of *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman* has been highly praised by Brian Hooker[24] for its "curious conceits and pithy sentences," its "sonorous rhetoric", and its humor; and many passages, such as the eloquent one on friendship,[25] can be adduced in support of the opinion. Dibdin[26] is impressed by the terseness and vigor of the style and "the scholastic and gentlemanly attainments" of the author. And there is every evidence that Brathwait's contemporaries were similarly admiring. The numerous reissues of the book can mean nothing else; and many of the extant copies resemble that of the edition of 1641 at the University of Pennsylvania, in being plentifully interlined, and annotated with studious attention, in a seventeenth century hand. Corser[27] tells us that the work was "universally read, and no gentleman's library was supposed to be complete without it."

It is possible that the popularity of *The English Gentlewoman* (1631) may have had something to do with the appearance of a group of books on women, by various authors but linked by their titles, called *A Curtaine Lecture* (1637), *A Juniper Lecture* (1639), *Divers Crab Tree Lectures* (1639), a *Wormewood Lecture*, and so on. At any rate, in *Ar't asleepe Husband? A Boulster Lecture* (1640) Brathwait informs us that that piece was produced as a reproof to the immodest jests and stale anecdotes of the "lectures". It is in point of fact a repetition of the method of *The English Gentlewoman*, applied to material such as would appeal to lower tastes,[28] and win a wider audience than his serious courtesy-book.[29] Thereafter his only return to the vein of social instruction is in "Choice Cabinet Counsel", from *The Captive-*

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[24] *The Law of Drinking*, ed. Hooker, Introduction, p. 18.
[25] Edition of 1641, p. 133.
[26] *Bibliomania*, p. 394.
[27] *Collectanea*, Part II, p. 382.
[28] The story of the drunkard pursued by witches, *Ar't asleepe Husband?* p. 92, seems to be a version of the Tam O'Shanter legend. It is repeated from *A Strappado for the Diuell*, Ebsworth's edition, p. 95.
[29] The British Museum copy of *Ar't asleepe Husband?* is likewise annotated in a very old hand. Probably *Ar't asleepe Husband?* was indistinguishable from the other courtesy-book, in its day.

Captain (1665), in which a mélange of satire, maxim, devotional prose, and moral exhortation is offered as "advice" to people of various classes.

Brathwait's religious works display less reflection of the cross-currents of thought which were troubling his age than do those of any other group. In politics he is a Royalist with democratic leanings due to his origin and position; in his social dicta he often anticipates modern views; but in theology he is completely orthodox. In this, no doubt, he is as always, representative of his class. But the effect of this consistency upon his religious utterances is unfortunate, in that with few exceptions they are exactly alike in idea, mood, and phraseology. Yet this very quality of repetition in them creates an impression of intense earnestness; and this quality Brathwait's writing undoubtedly possesses. In view of the nature of some of his other work, one might suspect his unwavering piety as but a gesture, were his words themselves less convincing, or had he lived in an age less divided against itself than the seventeenth century. But Brathwait was no hypocrite, not even what we are pleased to call an unconscious one. He simply represents a generation and a class which divided up its mind between the children of faith and the children of pleasure, and never let them play together. Thus one side of him is the Cavalier, and another a zealous Anglican, almost at times a Puritan.

But Brathwait's expression of religious emotion, in prose as in verse, falls below the emotion itself; it is monotonous, lacking in resource. A fair illustration is his *Prodigals Teares* (1614), by common consent of the critics "an excellent little work, written in animated language, and evidently from the heart",[30] and believed to be an atonement for the excesses of his youth, though as one writer somewhat cynically points out, a literary fashion in conversions and repentances was set by Munday, Marston, Dekker, and Rowlands in the early years of the century.[31] *The Prodigals Teares* for the whole of its eighty-seven pages is one long sermon, or better, spiritual and religious rhapsody, without

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[30] Haslewood, p. 37.
[31] *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV. 370.

chapter or other divisions, and with only an occasional passage of satire to break the seriousness of its exhortation and self-abasement. The prevailing imagery is that of the Psalms. A few brief passages will convey the quality of *The Prodigals Teares* and of all Brathwait's religious writing:

> Thou hast put upon my finger a ring, to intimate that I am married and affianced to thee . . I will stay no longer in the Tents of Kedar, nor with the inhabitants of Móloch. I am now for my fathers household . . . O my soule! think thou of this: redeeme that time thou hast spent, if not in houres . . yet in teares . . . I have soiourned long enough upon earth . . . O Lord May not he that is fallen rise again?

To write such a book, or to read it, would be possible only to one in an intense and childlike religious mood.[32] It has a quality that few people in our time can recapture.

The remainder of Brathwait's religious books, with but one exception, are in precisely the vein of *The Prodigals Teares*. The *Essaies upon the five sences*, published in 1620 and again in 1635,[33] are passages of similar rhapsody distinguished from one another by ingenious imagery based upon different senses. *Novissima Tuba* (1632), translated by an admirer in 1635 as *The Last Trumpet*, differs from its forerunners chiefly in employing the dialogue form. *A Spirituall Spicerie* (1638),[34] the majority of which is translation, introduces autobiographical facts into its later chapters, but is otherwise quite similar to the rest, as are *The Penitent Pilgrim* (1641) and *Lignum Vitae* (1658), the two last-mentioned being voluminous compilations, in English and

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[32] Its contemporary popularity is suggested by the careful transfer of the book five years later. *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, III. 660.

[33] Brydges in his *Archaica*, London, 1815, reprints the *Essays on the Five Senses* "from the second edition, 1625". Apparently he used an imperfect copy which, by a printer's error, bore this date. See Haslewood, p. 110.

[34] The first 345 pages of *A Spirituall Spicerie* are composed chiefly of translations from such theologians as Jacobus Gruythrodius (*i. e.* Gruitrædius, who flourished c. 1372), Johann Justus Lanspergius (or Johann Justus, Landsberger, a German mystic, d. 1539), Friar Lewis of Granado (1504–1588, a Spanish ascetic), [Franciscus] Ludovicus Blosius (a German Benedictine and mystic of the sixteenth century) and Henricus Suso (1300–1366, also a German mystic). Brief interpretations and prayers are interpolated by Brathwait. He seems to have had an unusual fondness for German religious mysticism.

Latin, of earlier material, but slightly altered, including a reprint of *Novissima Tuba* and a sort of condensation of the *Arcadian Princesse* under the title *Astraea*. In general, Brathwait's religious works give evidence of a popularity sufficient to warrant more than one edition of each. *The Penitent Pilgrim* was reprinted at London in 1847, and again in 1897.

Remains after Death (1618) is unique among Brathwait's religious books. It is an extended meditation on the great theme of Raleigh's "O eloquent, just and mighty Death", and of *Urn Burial*, in rather eloquent prose, which approaches at times the mood, though of course not the art, of Browne himself. The "Observations upon Epitaphs", which follows, divides epitaphs into "Morall", "Divine", and "prophane", each type being illustrated. The "Epitaphs prophane", which anatomize vice satirically, are frequently amusing. There are more than a hundred epitaphs in all, some copied from gravestones, some original, and all interesting as illustrative of the feeling of the time.

Mention may here be made of two religious works somewhat doubtfully attributed to Brathwait on the basis of internal parallels and general similarity of style. The first is *The yong mans gleanings*, by R. B. Gent. It contains scarcely an idea or even a phrase which does not appear in the books of the group, and has besides, the same printer as *The Poets Willow* (1614),[35] *A Strappado for the Diuell* (1615), and *Remains after Death* (1618); Brathwait's familiar comparison of the preface to a portal; and an apology for the errata similar to those of other of his works. It seems almost certainly his.

The second questionable ascription is that of a semi-religious allegory, *The History of Moderation . . written by Hesychius Pamphilus: And now faithfully translated out of the Original . London . . 1669*, the dedication of which is signed N. S.[36] Owing to its general resemblance to Brathwait's work, it has been attributed to him by several critics. Corser in his *Collectanea*

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[35] *I. e.*, John Beale.

[36] The initials are not explained, but are presumably those of yet another of Brathwait's numerous pseudonyms.

comments as follows:[37] "We have . . included it . . . with considerable hesitation . . . Its affinity . . principally consists in the coinage of the proper names, and the quotations and couplets of verse introduced; but these can scarcely be considered of themselves alone sufficient to decide the question". Arber in his index to the *Term Catalogues* assigns *The History of Moderation* to Brathwait without explanation.[38]

Aside from its general similarity to his views and style, the strongest argument for attributing *The History of Moderation* to Brathwait is its similarity to *The Arcadian Princesse.* Both are allegorical, and give classical names to the characters; both are pretended translations from the work of an imaginary author. But internal parallels with passages in other of Brathwait's known works are not lacking. The section on Moderation in *The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman*[39] expresses directly much the same ideas as are conveyed allegorically in the *History*. The emphasis on Ecclesiastical and Civil Histories as part of Moderation's reading[40] is reminiscent of Brathwait's contention throughout *A Survey of History* (1638). The subjects of the incidental satire, including Ben Jonson,[41] whom Brathwait seems early to have disliked,[42] are the familiar ones of other books. More definitely, however, the life and death of Philodike, who rose to be Lord Chief Justice in the island of Feliciana and died with the reputation of "the Poor mans Advocate",[43] are very suggestive of the career of Brathwait's godfather, Hutton, and the name of "Poor mans Advocate" is approximately that applied to Hutton in *Astraea's Teares*[44]. The attribution of *The History of Moderation* to Brathwait seems practically certain.

It is fitting that this discussion of the works of Richard Brath-

[37] Part II, pp. 452–453.
[38] *Term Catalogues*, ed. Arber. I. 524.
[39] Edition of 1641, pp. 171–208.
[40] P. 20.
[41] P. 71.
[42] See p. 68.
[43] Pp. 33–34.
[44] Sig. D3. "The Poore-man's patron", etc. The paragraph in *The History of Moderation*, immediately following this, in which Philodike rises to be keeper of the privy seal, may also be a reminiscence of *Astraea's Teares*, which is dedicated to "Henry Montague, Earle of Manchester, Lord Keeper of his Majesties Privie Seale".

wait should end with his last effort, *The History of Moderation.* Otherwise, it might well have been classified elsewhere,—as political satire, with *The Arcadian Princesse*, as social satire, or as a didactic book. It traces the rise of Moderation in Arimathea, her pedigree, marriage, descendants, and enemies, and her beneficent contact with politics, manners, and religion. Compared with the great allegories of Bunyan, of course, the *History* seems lacking in vigor; but the fact that it was reissued after Brathwait's death shows how well its author at eighty-one retained his sense of what the age wished to read.[45] And the style, in its simplicity and clarity, is perhaps his best prose. The wisdom of the book and its greater directness of writing are alike natural in a man of Brathwait's years, and in an age which was soon to become the eighteenth century. Brathwait remained to the last a mirror of the times.

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[45] The second edition was entitled *The Trimmer*, and was announced in November, 1683. *Term Catalogues*, ed. Arber, II. 48.

SUMMARY

Brathwait is a writer whose precise analogue it would be difficult to find. At first glance he would seem to resemble in the period preceding his, a pamphleteer like Greene or Breton; and in our day someone like Mr. Wells, who is a journalist, a satirist, a humorist, a novelist, and a popularizer of knowledge, all of which Brathwait was. But in comparing Brathwait with a journalist like Breton, or Wells, there is an important distinction to be drawn, which is that whereas they, like most journalists, write for money, and represent the point of view of the common man, Brathwait was a wealthy landed gentleman, a Justice of the Peace, and a pillar of the church. Nowadays such men as he, if they happen to be afflicted with literary yearnings, publish their books at their own expense. But Brathwait cannot be dismissed as a mere wealthy dilettante, victim of a monumental *cacoëthes scribendi*, for his works seem to have been published as commercial ventures, and to have met with better than average success on the stalls. Otherwise, unless we suppose Jacobean printers and booksellers to have been more altruistic than publishers of the present, how explain the printing by established men like Felix Kingston or Thomas Harper of five different volumes by Brathwait in as many years; the vending by Robert Bostock of two editions of *The English Gentleman* and five other books in five years; the careful passing on from generation to generation in a printing concern, of the right to publish a work of Brathwait's; the five editions of *Mercurius Britanicus* in a single year, one of them pirated? It is not likely that Brathwait made enough money from his writing to constitute an important increment to his income. He must have written partly because he felt that his training and abilities lay in that direction, but partly also because his contemporaries gave continued proof of wishing to hear what he had to say.

Of Brathwait's style, which varied somewhat with the different kinds of writing he attempted, and improved somewhat in his later work, enough has been said in the preceding chapters. He was not a highly talented writer. The persistence of his literary

urge is remarkable, devoid as he was of any marked felicity of style. In general it may be said of him that he never runs clear for very long at a time, never holds his reader with the smooth progression of thought or event, coupled with perfect expression. There is a patchwork quality in his mind, the result of which is that practically every one of his volumes gives the effect of a miscellany. The rarest quality in his work is that of coherence; his transitions are sophomoric. A practical explanation of this, and of all his faults except a certain native monotony, is the haste with which he wrote, and the probability—inferred from the nearly equal lengths of the sections in many of his volumes, as well as from his fondness for the motto, "No day without a line"—that he set himself a certain task each day, and brought to it the same businesslike despatch with which he sold his cattle and paid his tithes. His successes are predominantly successes of material rather than of style.

But Brathwait is not merely a versatile and successful pamphleteer or journalist. It is true that he followed after every popular mode in the literature of his time, that he wrote satire, characters, pastoral, burlesque, criticism, the realistic tale, popularizations of history, courtesy-books, religious essays, and sonnets,—everything, that is to say, except stage-plays, and if we are to believe him, those as well. But not one of his pieces is wholly unoriginal. He is not a hack, veering with every change in public taste, falsifying or abandoning his beliefs in order to achieve a temporary success. There is a constant element, a consistent point of view, in everything he wrote. It is the point of view of his class; it is that of a man who has roots in the soil of a place which he loves. Another constant element is his university training, his thorough grounding in the classics, and his confidence in their unchanging importance. The combination of these factors with the variety of his work, and its success, comes near to rendering him unique.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[Works the full title-pages of which are given in Haslewood's edition of *Barnabees Journall* (ed. Hazlitt, 1876) are here listed by abbreviated titles. Full title-pages are given only of (1) first editions not listed by Hazlitt; (2) new attributions. Owing to the composite nature of most of the volumes, it has seemed advisable to list as signed, any book in which Brathwait's name appears as author, whether upon the title-page, in the dedication, or elsewhere; and to follow the same principle as to initials and pseudonyms.]

I. Signed Works

(1) The Golden Fleece, 1611.

(2) The Prodigals Teares, 1614.

(3) The Poets Willow, 1614.

(4) The Schollers Medley, 1614.

Reprinted as A Survey of History, 1638, and again as History Surveyed in a brief Epitomy, 1651. Some copies 1652 (Wood).

(5) A Strappado for the Diuell, 1615.

Edited by J. W. Ebsworth, 1878.

(6) Remains after Death Including by way of introduction divers memorable obseruances | occasioned upon discourse of Epitaphs | and Epycedes; their distinction and | definition seconded by appro- | ued Authors. | Annexed There Be | divers select Epitaphs and Hearce-attending | Epods worthie our obseruation: The one | describing what they were which now are | not: The other comparing such as now | are with those that were | Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori. | By Richard Brathwayte Gent. | Imprinted at London by | Iohn Beale | 1618.

Reprinted as an Exquisite discourse of Epitaphs, with The Good Wife, in A Happy Husband, by Patrick Hannay, London, 1618. Haslewood records a copy in which A Happy Husband and The Good Wife are dated 1619, but Remains after Death 1618.

(7) The Five Senses, 1620.

Reprinted 1635.

(8) Times Curtaine Drawne, 1621.

(9) Shepheards Tales, 1621.

Reissued with Natures Embassie, 1621, 1623 (Ebsworth). Also reprinted as The Shepheards Tales Revived and Reissued, 1626. Reprinted with Natures Embassie, ed. Ebsworth, Boston (Lincs.), 1877. For discussion of editions, see *Athenaeum*, 1905, II. 896 ff.

(10) Natures Embassie, 1621.

Reprinted 1623 (Ebsworth). Reprinted by Ebsworth, 1877. The section of it called Odes: or, Philomels Teares, was edited by Brydges, and privately printed at Lee Priory, Kent, 1815.

(11) Lectissimo, Dilectissimoque amico suo, etc.

Latin Sapphic verses prefixed to *A Discoverie of Errours*, by Augustine Vincent, 1622.

(12) The English Gentleman, 1630.

Reprinted 1633. Again, with The English Gentlewoman, 1641, 1652, 1655, 1656. (v. under 1641).

(13) The English Gentlewoman, 1631.

Reprinted with The English Gentleman, 1641, 1652, 1655, 1656. (v. under 1641).

(14) The Arcadian Princesse, 1635.

(15) Raglands Niobe, 1635.

(16) A Spirituall Spicerie, 1638.

(17) To his industrious Friend, Iames Yorke, upon his Booke of Heraldry.

Verses prefixed to *The Union of Honor*, by James Yorke, Blacksmith, 1640.

(18) The English Gentleman and English Gentlewoman. Both In one Volume couched. The 3rd Edition, revised, corrected & enlarged, 1641.

Reprinted as Time's Treasury; or Academy for Gentry, 1652, 1655, 1656. Some copies 1640.

(19) To his deserving Friend, Mr. Loveday, upon his Translation of Cleopatra.

Verses prefixed to *Hymen's Praeludia: rendred into English by R. Loveday*, London, 1652.

(20) Lignum Vitae, 1658.

There is some very old writing on the title-page of the British Museum copy, which alters the date 1658 to 1657, and supplies the date 8tor. 27. Probably the printer wished the work to be "just off the press" as long as possible, and therefore dated it as of the coming year.

(21) To His Majesty, 1660.

(22) Regicidium, 1665.

An edition, not noted by Haslewood, nor found elsewhere, is recorded in *Book-Prices Current, American*, 1902, and there called the second edition: Regicidium, sanguinis Scrutinium Tragi-comoediae. London. J. Grismond. 1665. 8vo.

II. Works Signed R. B.

(23) The yong mans gleanings. | R. B. Gent. | Gathered Out | of divers most zea- | lous and Deuout Fathers, and | now published for the benefit of |

euerie Christian Man, which wi- | sheth good successe to his soule | at the later day. | Containing these foure Subiects. | 1 Of the Mortality of Man. | 2 The Poore Mans Harbour. | 3 The Mirror of Vaine-glory. | 4 Saint Barnards Sermon on the Passion of Christ. | Whereunto is adioyned a most sweete | and comfortable hymne, expressing | the everlasting Ioy of a Glo- | rified Soule. | By R. B. Gent. | At London | Printed by Iohn Beale, for Beniamin | Lightfoote: and are to bee sold at the | Corner shoppe at Graies Inne Lane | end in Holborne 1614. |

(24) The Lives of All the Roman Emperors, 1636.

(25) The Psalmes, 1638.

(26) An Epitome | of | All the Lives of | the Kings of France. | From Pharamond the | first, to the now most Chri- | stian King Lewis the | thirteenth | with a Relation of the Famous | Battailes of the two Kings of | England, who were the first | victorious Princes that Con- | quered France. | Translated out of the French Coppy | by R. B. Esq. | London: | Printed by I. Okes, and are to be | sold by Iames Becket, at his | shop within the Inner Temple | Gate 1639.

(27) A Mustur Roll of the evill Angels, 1655.
Reprinted as Capitall Hereticks, 1659.

(28) The Honest Ghost, 1658.

(29) The Captive-Captain, 1665.

(30) A Comment upon Chaucer, 1665.

Five different editions of this seem to have appeared in 1665, or at any rate, editions with five different title-pages. The difference in four of the five cases is in the book-seller or his address: (A) London, Printed by W. Godbid, and are to be sold by Robert Crofts at the Crown in Chancery-Lane, 1665 (British Museum); (B) London, Printed by W. Godbid, and are to be sold by Robert Crofts at the Crown in Chancery-Lane neer Serjeants-Inn. 1665 (British Museum); (C) Printed by W. Godbid, and are to be sold by Robert Clavell at the Stagg's Head in Ivy Lane, London: 1665 (Tregaskis catalogue); (D) a copy with the name of Peter Dring as bookseller (*Grolier Club Collations and Notes*, I. 94); (E) a copy in the Harvard Library Catalogue: A Comment upon the two tales of Jeffray Chaucer; the Miller's Tale, and the Wife of Bath. London, printed by W. Godbid, 1665.

Miss Spurgeon, in her edition of the *Comment* for the Chaucer Society (*Publications*, Second Series, No. 33), reprints from a copy of (D): "London, Printed by W. Godbid, and are to be Sold by Peter Dring at the Sun in the Poultrey neer the Rose-Tavern. 1665."

III. Pseudonymous

(31) The Law of Drinking, 1617. (Part 2, The Smoaking Age).

The Law of Drinking was edited, with introduction and notes, by W. Brian Hooker, with an Appendix of Legal References by Malvern Hall Tillit, New Haven, Conn., 1903.

The Smoaking Age was abridged and reprinted, 1703. Some copies R. B. (Corser, quoted in Haslewood).

(32) The | Good Wife: | Or, | A rare one Amongst Women. | Whereto is annexed an | Exquisite Discourse of | Epitaphs: | Including the choisest thereof, | Ancient or Moderne. | Uxor bona chara supellex. | Musophilus. | At London | Printed for Richard Redmer, and | are to be sold at his shop at the West | end of St Pauls Church. 1618 |

Reprinted, together with An Exquisite Discourse of Epitaphs, and dated 1619, in *A Happy Husband*, by Patrick Hannay, Gent., London 1618. Haslewood records a copy in which both dates are 1619, and The Good Wife bears the initials R. B. Gent. For discussion of editions, see *Athenaeum*, 1897, II. 751.

(33) A New Spring, 1619.

(34) Whimzies, 1631.

Edited by J. O. Halliwell, 1859.

(35) Novissima Tuba, 1632.

Reprinted with Lignum Vitae, 1658. Translated as The Last Trumpet by John Vicars, 1635.

(36) Barnabees Journall, 1638. (A)

Reprinted as (B) Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys to the North of England, London, 1716.

(C) London, 1723. A reprint of (B).

(D) Dublin, 1762. A reprint of (B).

(E) London, 1774. *Cf.* Advertisement to 1805 London edition. Probably the same as the 1776–77 edition recorded by Haslewood.

(F) London, 1776 (Haslewood). A reprint of (B).

(G) London, 1777. The 1776 edition with a new title-page. See Haslewood.

(H) London, 1778 (British Museum). The 1776–7 edition with a new title-page.

(I) Leeds, 1805 (British Museum).

(J) London, April, 1805. The first of Haslewood's editions, though it does not bear his name. *Cf.* mss. notes in the British Museum copy.

(K) London, September, 1805. See Haslewood.

(L) London, 1818. The second time edited by Haslewood, and containing the discovery of the author. Haslewood initialed the preface "H".

(M) London, 1820. The "fat little two-volume edition" spoken of by Hazlitt. "Edited from the First Edition by Joseph Haslewood".

(N) London, 1822 (British Museum).

(O) York, 1852 (see Haslewood).

(P) London, 1876. Hazlitt's edition of Haslewood's 1820 edition.

Since the London edition of 1805, the title used in reprints has been that of the original.

(37) Ar't asleepe Husband?, 1640.

(38) The Two Lancashire Lovers, 1640.

(39) The | History | of | Moderation; | or, the | Life, Death and Resurrection | of | Moderation: | Together With | Her Nativity; Country, Pedigree, | Kinred, Character, Friends, and | also her Enemies. | Tam prodesse velit, quam delectare.- | Nec prodesse sibi, sed pluribus.- | Immoderata ruunt, sed moderata struunt. | Let your moderation be known to all men, | the Lord is at hand, Phil. 4. 5. | Written by Hesychius Pamphilus: | And now faithfully translated out | of the Original. | London, Printed for Tho. Parkhurst, at the Golden | Bible on London Bridge, next the Gate. 1669 |

Reissued with a new title-page: The Trimmer, or The life and death of Moderation; wherein is continued an account of her country, etc. Presented to publick view by one of her sons. Printed for D. Newman at the King's Arms in the Poultry. (*Term Catalogues*, Nov. 1683. Corser, in *Collectanea* mentions a copy with this title, dated 1684.)

IV. Anonymous

(40) To the Vertuous Memory of Mr. Bernard Gilpin, his Reverend Kinsman.

Verses prefixed to the *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, by Bishop Carleton, the English translation of 1629. (See *Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions*. New Series, XXII. 83 ff.)

(41) A | Strange | Metamorphosis | of Man, | transformed into | a Wildernesse. | Deciphered in | Characters | London | Printed by Thomas Harper, | and are to be sold by Law- | rence Chapman at his shop | in Holborne | 1634 | .

But see discussion, pp. 22–23.

(42) Anniversaries upon his Panarete, 1634.

(43) Anniversaries upon his Panarete; Continued, 1635.

(44) The | Fatall Nuptiall: | Or, | Mournefull | Marriage, | Relating, | The heavy and lamentable | Accident lately occurring, by | the drowning of 47. persons, and | some of those of especiall quality, | in the water of Windermere, | in the North. October 19: | 1635 | Nova piscibus urna

parata est. | London. | Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, and are | to be sold by Robert Bostocke, at the | Kings Head in Pauls church- | yard. 1636. |

(45) Astraea's Teares, 1641.

(46) Mercurius Britanicus, 1641 (?)

Reissued as Mercurius Britanicus, Editio Secunda, 1641 (?) Neither edition is dated, but it is reasonable to suppose that both came out before the English translations, all of which are from the second Latin edition. They are: Mercurius Britanicus, or The English Intelligencer, 1641; another translation, with the same title, but by a more scholarly hand, 1641; and Mercurius Britanicus, or The English Intelligencer. Reprinted with sundry Additions, 1641. The second Latin edition was twice reprinted, in *A Third Collection of Scarce Tracts*, ed. Somers, J., Baron Somers, London, 1751, vol. 1 and vol. 5. The second of these reprints was "revised and enlarged by Walter Scott, Esq."

(47) Panaretees Triumph, 1641.

(48) The Penitent Pilgrim, 1641.

Reprinted for William Pickering, London, 1847. Re-edited and abridged, by G. E. Watts 1897.

(49) Panthalia: | or the | Royal Romance. | A | Discourse | Stored with infinite variety in relation to | State-Government | And Passages of matchless affection | gracefully interveined | And presented on a Theatre of Tragical | and Comical State, in a successive conti- | nuation to these Times. | Faithfully and ingenuously rendred. | Qui se scire dicit quod nescit, temerarius est: | Qui se negat scire quod scit, ingratus est. | Aug. | London, | Printed by J. G. and are to be sold by Anthony Willi- | amson at the Queen's-Arms in St. Paul's Church-yard. | 1659 |

(50) The | Chimneys | Scuffle. | Publica fumantes tetigere tributa Caminos, | Naribus audacis fastidiosa plebis. | London, | Printed in the Year 1662.

V. Works Variously Attributed to Brathwait, but Wrongly, or on Insufficient Grounds

1. Signed R. B.

De Argumento huius Libri encomium, in *Time is a Turncoat* (1604), by John Hanson of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

Attributed to Brathwait in *Chetham Society Publications*, CI. 147. The T. G. of accompanying verses is there thought to be Thomas Gainsford, a friend of Brathwait's. The meter is hexameter, used by Brathwait in other Latin verses written for this purpose. But the content is quite general, and there is no external evidence to connect him

with Hanson, or to justify the identification of T. G. with Gainsford.

In Comendation of the Authors Travaile Imployed in this Woork, verses signed R. B. prefaced to *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence: In Antiquities*, by Richard Verstegan, Printed at Antwerp by Robert Bruney, 1605.

Attributed to Brathwait by Hazlitt in *Collections and Notes*. The content is general, with no marks of Brathwait except perhaps the reference to unfavorable criticism. There is no evidence to connect Brathwait with Verstegan, nor with any of the other contributors.

To my friend, both by water and land, Iohn Taylor, verses in *The Sculler*, by John Taylor, 1612.

Assigned to Brathwait in Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*. But see the next item.

To my friend by land and by water Iohn Taylor, verses in *Nipping or Snipping of Abuses*, by John Taylor, 1614, signed Rob: Branthwaite.

This is clearly the R. B. of the verses in *The Sculler* (see the preceding entry). I do not see why Rob: should mean Richard; nor is there any case where Brathwait's name is printed Branthwaite. Moreover, there is a Robert Branthwaite of London, about this time, mentioned in *The Oxford University Register* and *Gray's Inn Register*. These verses may be his; but I see no reason for assigning them to Brathwait.

Some have an humor, that to discommend, etc., verses prefaced to *Characters upon Essaies Morall and Diuine*, by Nicholas Breton, 1615.

Attributed to Brathwait in *Chetham Society Publications*, LXXI. 69. There is no external evidence, and the content gives no clue, except perhaps that the line "Wit hath well labourde learning in this Booke", suggests "Wit workes in thee, learning in other men", a line in the preceding item. This would suggest that these verses were Robert Branthwaite's.

Itinerarium totius sacrae Scripturae, done into English by R. B., 1619 and 1636, a translation of the Latin of H. Buenting.

An attribution is suggested by the initials R. B., as well as by its similarity to other works of Brathwait, such as the Psalmes (1638) and Lignum Vitae (1658, registered in the books of the Stationers' Company 1628), in being a translation from Latin, and upon a religious subject. It is moreover dedicated "To the Right Honourable, Sir Henry Montague Knight, Lord chiefe Iustice of the Kings Majesties Bench", and speaks of its being done "that I might expresse that dutie which hath a long time lien concealed". Since Brathwait was a Justice, the duty may well have been some preferment in that connection, at Montague's hands. Astraea's Teares (1641) contains a dedication to Montague, among others: "To the Right Honourable, Henry Montague, Earle of

Manchester, Lord Keeper of his Majesties Privie Seale". The verses are more sincere and wittier than usual, beginning "To you, grave rev'rend Lord, He tenders this", and ending "Your selfe should say, these were no words of art | Kept you the Privy Signet of his Heart". The style of the Itinerarium is lacking in marks of Brathwait's authorship, but his other translations are also. Last but not least, the title may well have suggested that of Barnabae Itinerarium (1638), by a kind of sacrilegious analogy found in his undoubted works. There is thus a good deal of evidence in favor of its being his, and none against, and the attribution, though not proved, must be regarded as highly probable.

Epigrammatum Hecatontades duae, authore R. B. London, 1627.

Suggested as Brathwait's by the long apology for the errata, frequently used as a test of his authorship. The idea in Multa videre meo est, si vis disquirere, libro Errata: in vita plura videre mea est, is a familiar one in Brathwait's apologies. But the R. B. here is one Richard Bruch, whose name is signed to the dedication.

An Epistle Directed to All Justices of the Peace in England and Wales, and Presented to the High Court of Parliament, by R. B., 1642.

Corser in *Collectanea* says that it is classed among the works of Brathwait with hesitation because of the differences of style and violence of anti-Catholic sentiments, but that Mr. Rodd, "the late eminent bookseller", believed it to be Brathwait's, as did Haslewood, although he omitted it from his list. The writer does not speak like a member of the bench, as Brathwait was, but like a preacher. Also he quotes from a preacher, another "Mr. R. B." Both these hints suggest that the author of this pamphlet is the author of Autokatakritos, 1662, which see.

A Door of Salvation, by R. B., 1648.

Another of the many pamphlets by unknown R. B.'s of this period, which might be by Brathwait, but in which there is little to support an attribution. A Door of Salvation has an apology "To the Reader" for the errata, which is exactly of the kind used to establish Brathwait's authorship of other works. But it has no other marks of his style. As to its probable author, see Anthony a Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss. II. 383.

Autokatakritos: or Hypocrisie Unvail'd, and Jesuitisme Unmaskt. In a Letter to Mr. R. Baxter, 1662, signed R. B. at the end.

This has marginal notes in Latin, referring to Brathwait's favorite authorities, it has the pointing hands of which Haslewood and others make so much, it has an apology for the errata, and several references to Heretics and the regicide, which might well be taken as allusions to Brathwait's works on these subjects. But it ends with the words, ". . . as

I profess to be, and shall ever labour to approve myself in all sincerity, and a faithful (though most unworthy) Minister of Christ Jesus. R. B." References show that it is the continuation of a long debate between two R. B.'s, one named R. Baxter. The author, therefore, is probably the same as the author of An Epistle, 1642 (see above) and a minister, hence not Brathwait.

To his honoured Friend Mr. Alexander Brome, on the publishing his Poems, a letter prefixed to *Songs And Other Poems* by Alex. Brome Gent. The Second Edition, 1664.

Attributed to Brathwait in *Chetham Society Publications*, LXXI. 117. I am morally certain that it is his. It is written from the country; it has the insistence upon the honesty of his criticism which appears in all his commendatory verses and the like; it mentions Bacchus and the Excise, two of his favorite subjects; the volume is sold at "the Gun in Ivy Lane," which had sold books of his. But in the third edition this letter disappears, and the initials R. B. are prefixed to a much better letter which had been signed H. T. in the second edition. Under the circumstances, any attribution seems dangerous.

Adagia Scotica, collected by R. B. London, 1668.

An attribution is suggested because of Brathwait's extreme fondness for proverbs throughout his works and because he speaks of his second wife as Scotch. Nothing in the book, however, gives any clue, and none of the proverbs is used in his known works.

Some rules and orders for the government of the house of an Earle, set downe by R. B. at the instant request of his loving friend M. L. British Museum, *Addit. Mss.*, 29262. Printed as Brathwait's in *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*, by R. Triphook, 1816–1821, No. 8.

No evidence, external or internal, is adduced by Triphook in support of his attribution of this piece to Brathwait. The life and personality of the author, of which glimpses are afforded in the text, are not those of Brathwait.

2. Pseudonymous

Vade Mecum: A Manuall of Essayes. 1629. By Musophilus Anonym.

An attribution is suggested by the pseudonym, Musophilus, one which Brathwait employed several times before 1629. The piece itself, however, bears no evidence of his authorship.

Wine, Beere, and Ale, Together by the Eares. A Dialogue Written first in Dutch by Gallobelgicus, and faithfully translated out of the original Copie, by Mercurius Brittanicus, for the benefite of his Nation. 1629.

An attribution is suggested by the pseudonym, which is the title of a work of Brathwait's; by Gallobelgicus, to whom Brathwait more than once refers in his known works; by the similarity in content and origin to The Law of Drinking; and by the similarity with Wine, Beer, Ale, and Tobacco contending for superiority, 1658, (q. v.) assigned to Brathwait in *English Book-prices Current*, 1920. But Mercurius Brittanicus was used by many pamphleteers around 1630–40. And since such material for translation seems to have been common enough all over Europe (see the account of The Law of Drinking, p. 1 ff.) the attribution cannot be regarded as conclusive.

A Curtaine Lecture, 1637.

Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 675, is inclined to admit a possibility of this being Brathwait's, on account of its many and obvious similarities to Ar't asleepe Husband? (1641). But aside from the fact that it is much lighter and wittier than Brathwait's "lecture", it has, in the praise of the Virgin and the quotations from the Popes, a Catholic feeling that Brathwait never shows.

3. Anonymous

The Batchelars Banquet: London Printed by T. C. and are to be solde by T. P. 1603.

Attributed to Brathwait in the catalogue of the Byrom Library. Written by Thomas Dekker.

The hunting of the hare, ante 1630, verses attributed to Brathwait in *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts*, ed. E. J. L. Scott. London, 1904, p. 75.

Doubtless the conjecture was inspired by a reference in The English Gentleman (1630), p. 198, to an unknown work called *The Huntsman's Raunge*: "For what more admirable than the pleasure of the Hare, if we observe the uses which may be made of it, as I have else-where more amply discoursed . ." [Note in margin] "In a Treatise entituled; The Huntsman's Raunge." The verses are in *Sloane Mss.* 1792, f. 105, which appears to be a commonplace book kept by two students of Christ Church in Queen Anne's time. Two sets of doggerel lines on the hunting of the hare are copied, but neither is attributed to Brathwait in the manuscript, and there is nothing to suggest that they are his.

Psalmi Aliquot Davidici in Metrum Latinum traducti. Cum Adiectione Decem Psalmorum ad notas suas Musicas (ut in Anglicana versione) compositorum. In usum Academiae. Cum consciones habeantur ad Clerum. Oxoniae, Excudebat Iohannes Lichfield Almae Academiae Typographus. Anno Dom: 1630.

Attributed in part to Brathwait in *A General Index to Hazlitt's Handbook*, by G. J. Gray. London, 1893, p. 89. The entry in the *Hand-*

book, p. 488, gives in parentheses after the title the following: Brathwaite, Hall, Hunnis, Jerome, King Ravenscroft, Scotland, Seager, Sternhold, Tailor, Wither, &. This Gray evidently mistakes for a list of the contributors. Since the list contains the names of Seager and Sternhold, authors of versions of the Psalms in the middle of the preceding century, to say nothing of Jerome, and Scotland, it seems evident that Hazlitt was merely jotting down memoranda of possible sources. At any rate, no authors' names appear in the British Museum copy of the book; and there is nothing to connect any of the contents with Brathwait.

Genethliacum Illustrissimorum Principum Caroli & Mariae A Musis Cantabrigiensibus Celebratum. Excusum Cantabrigiae. 1631.

Attributed in part to Brathwait in *A General Index to Hazlitt's Handbook*, by G. J. Gray. London, 1893, p. 89. A Latin quatrain at p. 75 of the book is signed "G. Brathwayt, Coll. S. Joh. Generos." This would seem to be the George Brathwait noted in *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees*, ed. J. and J. A. Venn. Cambridge, 1913, p. 93, who became a fellow-commoner of St. John's at Easter term, 1631. There is nothing to connect any of the contents of the Genethliacum with Richard Brathwait.

A Dreame: or Newes from Hell, 1641.

Attributed to Brathwait in Wren Library Catalogue. It is by John Taylor, the Water Poet.

Grand Plutoes Remonstrance or the Devil Horn-mad at Roundheads and Brownists, London, 1642.

Attributed to Brathwait in the Wren Library Catalogue. It is by John Taylor, the Water-poet.

Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco contending for superiority, 1658.

Attributed to Brathwait without citation of authority, in *English Book-prices Current*, 1920. There is even less reason to connect this with Brathwait than in the case of Wine, Beere, and Ale, Together by the Eares, 1629 (q. v.).

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